John Gordon
Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.
Ex dono Edwardi Clarke

THE POVRTRAICTVRE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SVFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour &c.

1662.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

D.

M. DC. XLVIII.

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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

I. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My Affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have always thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, and best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetful of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest & sober desires, and to redress all publike grievances in Church and State; I hoped (by My freedom and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which, as I feared Affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should finde least of them in

My ſelf; not doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding ſome mens wel-meaning zeal by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt, both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſs of My own Heart toward My Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firm underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My own and My Childrens Intereſts gave Me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of My Subjects, The onely temporall bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protection. I cared not to leſſen My ſelf in ſome things of my wonted Prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but

but Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissness in Church and State had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and Regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My self, whom it most concerns both in piety and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous, then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant what-ever My Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed My self, and My Kingdoms to those advantages which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, That Resolutions of future Reforming do not always satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee: Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, thou giveſt us cause to repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to Thy glory, and My People's good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father. When thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience and repentance which becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My People unfainedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with our sins.

O thou soveraign Goodnesse and Wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace turn our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhapy War; so let this War prepare us for thy blessed peace.

That although I have but troublesom Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

2. *Upon the Earl of* Strafford's *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather affraid, then ashamed to imploy him in the greatest Affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which, condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of Affairs, then in the business of that unfor-

unfortunate Earl: when between My own unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people; I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſs of Conſcience before God.

And indeed, I am ſo far from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part, (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death, That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſigne of My repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, then of God: whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publicke convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange, to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſome.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event

and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world th fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perif (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, destroyed.* For,

In all likelihood, I could never have ſuffre with My People greater calamities, (yet wit greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford'* innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſigne tha deſtructive BILL, according to that Juſtic which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then have done ſince I gratified ſome mens un thankfull importunities with ſo cruell a fa vour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe wh counſelled Me to ſigne that Bill, have been ſ far from receiving the rewards of ſuch in gratiatings with the People, that no men hav been harraſſed and cruſhed more then they He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, wh counſelled Me not to conſent againſt the voi of My own Conſcience; I hope God hat forgiven Me and them the ſinfull raſhneſſe o that buſineſſe.

To which being in My ſoul ſo fully conſci ous, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed t ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more we come, as a means (I hope) which his merc hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repen of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) an for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rul of Policy is to preferre the doing of Juſtice, before

before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain alike conſent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me in my Lord of *Strafford*'s Buſineſs.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in My Affairs againſt the adviſe of My Parliament; but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſs I was better aſſured then any man living could be.

Nor were the crimes objected againſt him ſo cleer, as after a long and fair hearing, to give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh my Lord of *Straffo d*'s greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours for *Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two

Houſes Vote, and do as they would have us; that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficienlty tels the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loth ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſs and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly, God knows) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publick miſchiefs) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and man, to all Poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſte load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy War; which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall be more affraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinfull complyance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man: Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envie, or malice

againſt

against him, and by my place should, at least so far, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood-guiltinesse, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evill in thy sight; for thou saweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; Wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgments, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: While I was perswaded by shedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to depriv
me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salva
tion, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit
which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light o
Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, which ſhines i
my Soul; for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward
parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſi
ons.

Lord hear the voyce of thy Sons, and my
Saviours blood, which ſpeaks better things: O
make me, and my people, to hear the voyce of Joy
and Gladneſs, that the bones which thou haſt
broken, may rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

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3. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand juſtice upon the five Members, was an act which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears; yea, and many of My friends reſented it, as a motion, riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſs of thoſe times required.

But

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legal Tryal, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawful correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to embroyl My Kingdoms: Of all which, I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the Publike Peace, which to preſerve by calling in queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all my deſigne) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do Me, and My Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, and removed My ſuſpicions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What

What flames of diſcontent this ſpar (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſibl means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all th world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſom men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigne by force to aſſault the Houſe of Common and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that, a God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſ none that attended Me could juſtly gathe from any thing I then ſaid or did, the leaſt in timation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my coming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with Me to preſerve a reverence to Me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumm of that buſineſs was this:

Thoſe men and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protecti-

on.

on. I leave them to God and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations, no present impunity, or popular vindications of them, will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable Judgment, which shall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I fore-saw, would in all likelihood follow some mens activity (if not restrained,) and so now hath done, to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pity.

But to over-aw the freedome of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my designe: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witnesse in heaven, and in my heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickednesse in my thoughts.

Then

Then let the enemy persecute my soul, and tr
my life to the ground, and lay mine honor in t
dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest b
yond all popular appearances, searching the hear
and trying the reins, and bringing to light t
hidden things of darkness, shew thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wi
and godly men they cannot be) any argument
my sin in that matter; more then their impu
nity among good men is any sure token of the
innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done a
miss, though they are not punished for it in th
world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracie
and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men,
according to the uprightness of my heart, and th
innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou
that sittest in the throne, judging rightly, that thy
servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. Upon

4. *Upon the insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea; so 'tis no less, that he restrains the madness of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamors of the vulgar, to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them; nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both

both in contemptuous words and actions, t
My ſelf and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, a
an Ague, but a quotidian Feaver, always en
creaſing to higher inflammations, impatien
of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſ
fears, which ſome men ſcared themſelves an
others withall; when indeed nothing was mor
to be feared, and leſs to be uſed by wiſe men
then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean an
rude people, who are taught firſt to petition
then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to com
mand and over-awe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, a
freedom of differing in Votes, and debatin
matters with reaſon and candour) muſt b
taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe mu
the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Member
(as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: B
theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to di
charge their Conſciences, muſt be ſubdued: B
theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmatica
propoſals againſt Government, Eccleſiaſtica
or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till the
prevailed.

Generally, who-ever had moſt mind to brin
forth confuſion and ruine upon Church an
State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults
whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that the
would

would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſoning of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow, to ſee them ſo tolerated and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired for the Publick good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſutable engines; ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and imbolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage,

rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo ne
ther for multitudes to become inſolent, whe
they have Men of ſome reputation for par
and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſs moſt fo
midable, was, that many Complaints bei
made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſom
of both Houſes; yet no order for redre
could be obtained with any vigour and ef
cacy, proportionable to the malignity of th
now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant mi
chief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that the
feared no inconvenience; Others petulanc
that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhameful
outraged and abuſed: while they knew the
only ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery:
inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Ho
ſes common ſafety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, i
partially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh t
known Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendi
ries, who boaſted of the influence they ha
and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as the
advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wi
Stateſ-men) owned them as friends, comme
ding their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtry; whi
to ſober men could ſeem no better then t
of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom h
may* deceive, and *devour*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My ſelf, could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not only Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by My preſence to provoke them to higher boldneſs and contempts: I hoped, by my with-drawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man, for popular terrours to deſert his publick ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed, that I meditated a War, (when I went from *Whitehall*, onely to redeem My Perſon and Conſcience from violence:) God knows, I did not then think

think of a War. Nor will any prudent m
conceive, that I would by ſo many former, a
ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakened M
ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a W
which to decline by all means, I denyed M
ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident, I h
then no Army to flie unto for protection,
vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a wi
drawing our ſelves from the daily baitings
the Tumults, not knowing whether their fu
and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as
worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as y
they but plaid with in their paws? God, wh
is My ſole Judge, is My Witneſs in Heave
that I never had any thoughts of going fro
My Houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have h
but any reaſonable fair Quarter: I was reſo
ved to bear much, and did ſo; but I did n
think My ſelf bound, to proſtitute the Majes
of My Place and Perſon, the ſafety of M
Wife and Children, to thoſe, who are pron
to inſult moſt, when they have objects and o
portunity moſt capable of their rudeneſs a
petulancie.

But this buſineſs of the Tumults (where
ſome have already given an account to God
others yet living know themſelves deſperate
guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath
ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it be

to leave it as it is : Onely, I beleeve the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſs of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay, that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſs content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it, ſo far as I could comprehend it: But as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publick Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences, in all likelihood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we

muſt

muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſo
dears, and magnifies his wiſdom moſt, whe
our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

*But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defen
to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging
the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.*

*The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in up
me, and are ready to overwhelme me.*

*I look upon My ſins, and the ſins of My Pe
ple, (which are the tumults of our ſouls agai
thee, O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popul
inundations which thou permitteſt to over-be
all the banks of Loyaltie, Modeſtie, Laws, J
ſtice and Religion.*

*But thou that gatheredſt the waters into
place, and madeſt the drie land to appear, and
ter didſt aſſwage the flood which drowned
world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke th
beaſts of the people, and deliver Me from
rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the multitude.*

*Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us the freedom
of our Councels and Parliaments, make us
paſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon and Re
gion, and with all order and gravity to follo
it, as it becomes Men, and Chriſtians, ſo ſhall
praiſe thy name, who art the God of order a
counſell.*

*What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy o
nipotent Juſtice can and will.*

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſence and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter to their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errour by Truth, to our ſeditions by Laws duely executed, to our ſchiſmes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelf.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

5. *Upon His Majeſties paſſing the* BILL *for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after, ſetling this, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purpoſes at firſt, to contribute what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour and Conſcience I could, to the happy ſucceſſe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other deſigne but the generall Good of My Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the BILL for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applied) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head or prevailing; eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a remedy beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient Receſſes for the firſt three years: But I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing as much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activity, that they wil need make work rather then want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſs, rather then do nothing.

Whe

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens fears, and compass publick Affairs; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses: which amounted, in some mens sense, to as much as the perpetuating of this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present jealousies, and future mistakes: I confesse, I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as some men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparallell'd by any of My Predecessors; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, That My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny My self in so high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should be worse by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of doing good or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preserving Lawes in their due execution and vigour; wherein My Interest lies more then any

means, since by those Laws My Rights as KING, would be preserved no lesse then My Subjects; which is all I desired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and less the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented Me of that setling Act: and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to do: But I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honour That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have and enjoy with them. I still counted my self undiminished by My largest Concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My people.

Of which I do not yet despair, but that God will still blesse Me with increase of when men shall have more leisure, and less prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those (as think) not more Princely then friendly contributions, which I granted toward the perpetuating of their happiness: who are now only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of Honour and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may ful-

fully compensate both the acts of My confidence, and My sufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety, and religious strictness.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which some men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subjects Miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsly divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility, to undoe what by My Royall assent I had done. Sure, it had argued a very short signe of things, and extreme fatuity of minde in Me, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries; yet not such as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favours with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits,

would force them to conjure them down a
gain.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any ca pacitie to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater and more deſired advantage againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely Inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Armies, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more then that My ſelf, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condeſcendings.

I had been a Courſe full of ſin, as well as of Hazard and Diſhonour, for Me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability: if ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God, I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of My own heart in paſſing that great EVILL, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may ſeem leſſe a Politition to men, yet I need

no

no secret distinctions or evasions before God. nor had I any reservations in My own soul when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with Me, could not but be dashed in pieces by such a precipitious fall as they intended: whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Divell shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soul, worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evill themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of my will, though an errour of too charitable a judgment: Only I am sorry other mens eys should be evill, because mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) do I ſtill appeale, who All-deſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſe of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt Me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitter to ſuffer much for ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſſing of ours, even when we hope to do What might be moſt comfortable to thine and theirs too; Who pretended they aymed at nothing elſe.

Let thy grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfilling of My beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay other feares, I have raiſed My owne; and by ſetling them have unſetled My ſelf.

Thus have they requited Me evill for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this darke and dangerous ſtorme, which never admits My returne to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.

Tis eaſie for Thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevaile upon Me, as to be able

gle to pervert and abuse my acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My self may be of misusing those many and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Me.

I beseech thee, give me and them such Repentance as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happie, as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect with a reforming displeasure upon My offences against Thee.

So, although for my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happie to enjoy the comfort of thy Mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6. *Upon His Majeſties retirement from* Weſtminſter.

WIth what unwillingneſſe I with-drew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a Storm, yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee-ſhore.

I ſtayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by ſhame, more then fear, to ſee the barbarous rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and not leave either My ſelf, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reaſon and Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine:) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to My Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kinde. Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with

with the will of God, with my juſt Rights, as a King, and the generall good of my people. I ſee that as many men they are ſeldome of one mind; and I may oft ſee, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome: ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſes to be Conncell; when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men to perſwade; but force and rerrour as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to what ever tumultuary patrones ſhal project. He deſerves to be a ſlave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to leave the rationall ſoveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will and words ſo captivitated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms ſo conſiderable as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedom; which cannot be denied me as a King, becauſe it belongs to me as a man, and a Chriſtian, owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above me, as obliging me to con-

ſent;

ſent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Em-
pire of My Soul, which ſubjects Me only to
God, ſo farr as by Reaſon or Religion he di-
rects Me, then live with the Title of a King, a
it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as no
to ſuffer Me to uſe my Reaſon and Conſci-
ence, in which I declare as a King, to like o
diſlike.

So farr am I from thinking the Majeſty o
the Crown of *England* to be bound by an
Coronation Oath, in a blinde and brutiſh
formality, to conſent to whatever its ſubject
in Parliament ſhall require; as ſome men wi
needs inferr; while denying Me any powe
of a Negative voice as King, they are not a
ſhamed to ſeek to deprive Me of the liberty o
uſing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience
which themſelves, and all the Commons o
England enjoy proportionable to their influ-
ence on the publick; who would take it ver
ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever My ſelf
as King, or the Houſe of Peeres with M
ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them t
paſs. I think My Oath fully diſcharged i
that point, by My Governing only by ſuch
Lawes, as My People with the Houſe o
Peers have Choſen, and My ſelf have con-
ſented to. I ſhall never think My ſelf conſci-
entiouſly tied to go as oft againſt My Conſci-
ence, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propo-
ſals

sals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the only man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of error, opinion, activeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinacy in Me (which not true Judgment of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and method of Slavery, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of his Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can

be

be no fault in him to steere his course by such
stars as do best appear to him. It argues ra-
ther those men to be conscious of their defect
of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who
call in the assistance of meer force to carry on
the weakness of their Councells, and Propo-
sals. I may, in the Truth and uprightness of
my heart, protest before God and men; that
I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing
that was in a fair way, after full and free de-
bates propounded to me, by the two Houses
Further then I thought in good reason I
might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please me more
then when my judgement so concurred with
theirs, that I might with good Conscience
consent to them: yea, in many things when
not absolute and morall necessitie or Reason
but temporary convenience on point of Ho-
nor was to be considered. I chose rather to
deny my self, then them; as preferring that
which they thought necessary for my people's
good, before what I saw but convenient for
my self.

For I can be content to recede much from
my own Interests, and Personall Rights, of
which I conceive my self to be master: but in
what concerns Truth, Justice, the Right of
the Church, and my Crown, together with
the generall good of my Kingdoms: (a

which

which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me ;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie ; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in My Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions ; when in stead of Reason, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flowes from the particularities of private wils and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome ; For this I beleeve is thy will, that we should maintain : Who, though thou dost justly require us to submit our understandings and wils to thine ; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so far to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries and Commands, that we should beleeve and obey, rather then dispute them ;

yet.

yet doſt thou expect from us, only ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, againſt our conſciences: and as to the deſires of men, enjoineſt us to try all things by the touch-ſtone of reaſon and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Juſtice; and to declare our conſents to that only which our Judgments approve.

Thou knoweſt, ô Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet Me, and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at preſent did call me.

My People can witneſs how far I have been content for their good, to deny My ſelf, in what thou haſt ſubjected to My diſpoſall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of ſome mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make Me ſtrengthen them by My conſent in thoſe things which I think in My conſcience to be againſt thy glory, the good of My ſubjects, and the diſcharge of My own duty to Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities and injuries they preſs upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt My Conſcience.

Let the juſt Liberties of My people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equal waies, without the ſlavery of My ſoul.

Thou

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Me not to ſubject My Reaſon to other mens paſſions, and deſignes, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſs of My heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Juſtice, for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to peace and happineſs with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours ſake.

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7. *Upon the Queenes departure and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandall of that neceſſity which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: this being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Sub-

Subjects, that have taken up Arms against the
King, a Paoteſtant: For I look upon this no
done in England, as another Act of the ſam
Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotlan
the brands of that fire being ill quenched, ha
kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch m
tions (ſo little to the adorning of the Pro
ſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alie
tion of mind, and divorce of affections in H
from that Religion, which is the only thi
wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would
time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practi
to be any obſtruction to Her judgment, ſinc
is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt pa
who are yet to ſeek & ſettle their Religion
Doctrine, Government, and good manne
and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engl
Proteſtants, who continue firm to their f
mer ſetled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorry my relation to ſo deſervin
Ladie, ſhould be any occaſion of her dat
and affliction; whoſe merits would have
ved her for a protection among the ſavage
dians; while their rudeneſs and barba
knows not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues
ſome mens ſubtiltie doth; among whom I
think few are ſo malicious as to hate Her
Her ſelf. The fault is, that ſhe is my Wife
All juſtice then, as well as affection co
ma

mands me, to ſtudy her Security, who is only
in danger for my ſake, I am content to be
toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt; ſo a
ſhe may be in ſafe Harbor.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafetie in
the midſt of my Perſonall dangers, that I can
periſh but half, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe
memory and hopefull Poſteritie, I may yet
ſurvive the malice of my enemies, although
they ſhould be ſatiated with my blood.

I muſt leave her, and them, to the Love and
Loyaltie of my good Subjects; and to his pro-
tection, who is able to puniſh the faults of
Princes, and no leſs ſeverely to revenge the
injuries done to them, by thoſe who in all du-
tie and Allegiance, ought to have made good
that ſafety, which the Laws chiefly provide
for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vaine expected
from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyaltie: Nor
can it be (ſafe for any relation) to a King, to
tarrie among them who are ſhaking hands
with their Allegiance, under pretence of lay-
ing faſter hold on their Religion.

Tis pitie ſo noble and peaceſull a ſou
ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſs of
thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice
with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her ſympathie with me in my afflictions,
will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre

as ſtars in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſs of the Generality and Vulgar: for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the most ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe who having eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with our bounty, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty by their Corban of Religion: and can leſs endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactors as well as their Soveraigns.

But even that policy of my enemies is in farr veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive her out of my Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love and loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſs I may be bleſt with her company the more I will retire to God and my own Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never depriv[e] me

me of the enjoiment of her vertues, while I enjoy my self.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despiteful and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest tempral infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our souls eternal good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our miserie or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Subjects, which profess the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of her, in any error thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let

Let mine, and other mens constancy be a Antidote against the poison of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profess, represented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of humilitie, loyaltie, charitie, and peacebleness; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levitie, Schism, Heresie, Noveltie, Crueltie, Disloyaltie, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, Thine; that she may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse humane mixtures.

That in the glass of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanitie, and uncertaintie of all humane Glory, and greatness in our scatterings and Eclypses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honors and perfections, which are only to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. *Up-*

8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or owne it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the Losse of My Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for my self; nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compass of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to comit or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyal undertakers: That bad actions must alwaies be seconded with worse, and rather not begun then not carried on, for they think

think the retreat more dangerous then t
assault, and hate repentance more then per
verance in a fault.

This gave me to see cleerly thorow all t
pious disguises, and soft palliations of so
men; whose words were sometime smooth
then oyle, but now I saw they would prove
ry swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defen
but that of a good Conscience, thought it
best policy (with patience) to bear what
could not remedy: And in this (I thank God
I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain,
emotion of passion transported Me, by the
dignity of his carriage, to do or say any thi
unbeseeming My self, or unsutable to th
temper, which, in greatest injuries, I thi
best becomes a Christian, as coming nearest
the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire always more to remem
ber I am a Christian, then a King; for what th
Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Chari
of the other is willing to bear; what the heig
of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility
a Christian teacheth to forgive, keeping
compasse all those impotent passions, whos
excesse injures a man more then his greatest
nemies can; for these give their malice a fa
impression on our souls, which otherwise ca
not reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded and avenged my cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fears to own it as a notable ſtroke, and predi ion of divine vengeance.

Firſt, Sir *John Hotham* unreproched, unthreatned, uncurſed by any lan age or ſecret imprecation of mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after, paies his own and his eldeſt Sons heads, forfeiture of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who employed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsfull to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weal. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father his Country: Root and branch God cuts off one day.

These Observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was so far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first imployed him against Me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then (I hope) many other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowreness, which some men pretend to in matters of Religion, which so darken their judgment, that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use with intents to reform to their Models, or what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which dothbut glister with a shew of zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes Me more pity him, is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to Me, he should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice and not my Mercy, who could as willing

have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to relieve they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffer us not to pray any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noreable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so bad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his *Soveraigne* carries always its own vengeance, and an unseperable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Towerhill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull expectations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indeliable characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Faction of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on their actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take

any ſecret pleaſure in it, for as his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more than the ſin againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavor of mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh.

O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not thy juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive; who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy majeſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their ſinns (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the Lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, to be a terrour to all.

Diſcover to them their ſinn, who know not

the

they have done amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercie, and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness, and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Sonne Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

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9. *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the* KING

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced me to leave *White-hall*: what tumults could not do an Army must; which is but Tumults listed and enrolled to a better order, but as bad as end: My recesse have given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: Bnt I have a Soul invinciable through Gods Grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of my Conscience, before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason whereby to convince me? O my Soule! be of good courage, they confesse their known weaknesse, as to truth and Ju ice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have

have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious KING, but by my sufferings?

It is a hard and dispulable choice for a King that loves his people, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civill War in the bowels of my most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envyed? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government; which might escape, rather through ill counsell of some men, driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the Publike should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of my self either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent bloud, during my Reign, have I shed, to satisfie my lust, anger, or covetousness? what Widows or Orphans tears can witness against me, the just cry of which must now be avenged with my own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall; nor doth the Canon know any respect of persons.

In vain is my Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against me with swords.

God knows how much I have ſtudied to ſee what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this War againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfet of peace and wantonneſſe of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily finde, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publick Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid, and anſwer before God in My own Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to beleeve Me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *White-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults (the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in reaſon can be given (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppreſs both Mine and the Two Houſes freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall (warned by My Lord

of

of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that instinct which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them before their Cause could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults over-born the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses, had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so deer to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise, either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law, I think every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height for want of timely suppressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents, was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-awed by the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet

by their ſuffrages or preſence, the deſignes of thoſe men who agitated innovations and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſs; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſs againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more then Safety, Fulneſs, and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary ways, by free Deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſs of the Biſhops injoying their ancient places, and undoubted priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carryed for them by far the major part of Lords? Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtom, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner was the Bill againſt Root and Branch brought on by tumultuary Clamours and Schiſmaticall Terrours, which could never paſs, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which partiality, while (in all Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion) my Conſcience forbids me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard my Own, and my Kingdoms ruine by my Defence; or proſtrate my Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous Superſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, then utterly to deſtroy that primitive, Apoſtolicall, and anciently univerſall Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which, if other mens judgments bind them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it, Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds I have in my judgment, have alſo a moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſable Oath upon my Conſcience, to preſerve the Order, and the Rights of the Church: to which moſt ſacrilegious and abhorred perjury, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving my Conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath or can befall me; inaſmuch, as the leaſt ſin hath more evil in it then the greateſt Affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopall Faction at firſt in this point with my Conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſticall Government and Revenues to

the

the fury of their covetousnes, ambition, and revenge, I beleeve they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bil of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednes to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour for my sake, and the Commonweals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot add my consent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall, and so very sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destoryed, when what is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnes, I know none of such consequences as was worth speaking of a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason and Religion had made in my own and other mens Consciences.

A rec-

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made, which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envie and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that (God knows) I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been honourably and effectuall repreſſed by exemplary juſtice, and the Liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with Honour and Freedom, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly and ſpeedily returned, then I retired; this being My neceſſity driving, the other my choice deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame Judgment and Conſtancy which I caryed with Me, which would never fit their deſignes; and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially, when they had found out that plauſible

and

and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my Self, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities; which yet in all Reaſon and Honour they were as loth to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſigne in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopal, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of War, or eaſily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number, or elſe they were meer conſequentiall, and acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſſe of judgment might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſigne, either to ſtop my mouth, or to force My conſent: and in this truth, as to My conſcience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this War, on My ſide, I do not thnk My Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkened; Nor am I without the Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe My prayer to Him,

For thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgment.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men hath ſought after my ſoule, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cauſe.

For

For thou knowest, I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witness, how oft I have deplored and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherin I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirstie of my Subiects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have bin oft compelled to do in this unhappie War; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my people.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised it first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would almost make me suspect my own innocencie: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of mine enemies, and redeem my people from this miserable War; since thou, O Lord, knowest my innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloodie and deceitful men, many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselvs the

joinem

joiment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Cou ſe s.

Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in Warr.

Ariſe, O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine enemies, which encreaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travailed with iniquitie, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this Warre u, either to deſtroy my perſon, or force my judgment, and to make me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſs Davids choiſe and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them (though their mercie be cruel) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt my Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire; Better they deſtroy me, then thou ſhouldſt damn Me.

Be thou ever the defence of my ſoul; who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will ſatisfie mine Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporal Juſtice, I am content. if it be thy will that it be ſhed by mini own Subjects hands.

But ô let the blood of me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be waſhed with the blood of my Innocent

cent and peace making Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will find not onely a temporary expitation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction; both for my sins, and the sins of my People whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my death, O Remember thy great mercies towards them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what to doe,

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10. *Upon the seizing the King's Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am Charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that only pity Me, and the Loyall hearts that durst only pray for me, at first might witness which yet appear not so many one my side, there were men in Arms listed against Me; my unprepared-nesse for a war may well discharge those that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingnes to fight; yea it tells for me, that I am set on the defensive part having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My self, or preserve what is mine own from their deception.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their preparations againſt me, and ſurpriſals of my Strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe my innocency and unpreparedneſs to aſſert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their eſteems; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew, my chiefeſt Arms left me, were thoſe only which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and ſurpriſing my Caſtles, Forts, Arms and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo far beſt for me, That it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelf into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be Elias Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew me the ſpecial ſnpport of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the Militia ſo much in reference to my own protection as my Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve me, I am above my own: what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take to reſolve their riddle of Making Me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a Support to my Friends, and a terrour to my Enemies, by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſs the other.

For thus have they deſigned and propoſed to me the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any reality of power, ſo without any neceſſity of ſubjection and obedience: That the Majeſty of the Kings of England might hereafter hang like Mahomet's Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, as an airy imagination of Regality.

But I beleeve the ſurfeit of too much power which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soverain Power in Subjects ſeldom agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant Militia, ſought, by ſatisfying their fears and importunities, both to ſecure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my ſelf of a ſole power to help, or hurt any: yeelding the Militia (which is my undoubted Right no leſs then the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all jealouſies in them of me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to my ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer then I wiſh them and my People: If I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing of the Militia, I could not protect my People, further then they protected Me and Themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the Militia is mutuall. I would but defend my ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their own evill merits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught my Subjects, ſince power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed againſt Me and Them, that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch way as the Law hath intruſted the publike ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of mine, as to the exer-

exerciſe of the Militia, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be Enemies not to me only, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights in point of power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is better protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice due to my Succeſſors, forbid me to yeeld to ſuch a total alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty, no leſs then Juſtice and Honour ſhould have forbad them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypſe my own beams, to ſatisfie their fears; who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly power wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted me: Yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all poſterity and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights from unjuſt Uſurpations and Extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of mine; which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, then to my Subjects; whom I deſire to leave in a condition not onely deſperate for the future; ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtracti-

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which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a shew to the people to have more eyes to foresee; so they will find, it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, then any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy: where Counsell may be in many, as the senses; but the supreme Power can be but in one, as the Head.

Haply, where men have tried the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow my inforced darkness and eclipse (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that Body, which (as the Moon) receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteem and welcom the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by my receding so much from the use of my Right in the Power of the Militia, to come short of the discharge of that Trust to which I am sworn for my peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the inforced perjury (if so it may seem) who compell me to take this new and strange way of discharging my Trust, by seeming to desert it; of protecting my Subjects by exposing my self to danger of dishonour, for their safety.

Which, in the conflicts of Civill War, and advan-

advantages of power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yeilding; to which the greateſt love of the publique peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good Conſcience) doth more invite me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of ſafety then that of the Sword and Militia; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtroaks of divine Vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Conſciences, which always attend injurious perpetrations.

For my ſelf, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential neceſſity is pleaſed to take from me, in order to my People's tranquillity and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for me; and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compenſate to me as he did to Job, what-ever Honour, Power or Liberty the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Divel himſelf can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all defence by Arms and Militia, all refuge by Land in Forts and Caſtles, all flight by Sea in Ships and Navie; yea, though they ſtudy to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure and beſt Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive me of my

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innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I fly for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I will have more with me then can be againſt me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſſe of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haſt to ſuccour me, than that never faileſt them, that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are couraged to fight under pritence of fighting for me: But my eyes are towards thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety, and proſperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whoſe Judgments oft begin with thy own Children.

I am contents to be nothing that thou maieſt be be all.

Thou haſt taught me that no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet Thou muſt ſave Me by the multitude of Thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am ſore deſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be Thou on my ſide, and I ſhall

not fear what man can doe unto Mee.

I will give Thy Justice the glory of my distresse.

O let Thy mercie have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my Soule!

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject, and justly maiest thou, by my own subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclypse my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and only refuge. Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy whings.

Shew thy marveilous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly enemies that compasse me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

LI. *Vpon the 19. Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set my owne safety and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too deare a rate save only the parting with My Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable, and inglorious, as my enemies can either make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; The rest I think ought not to be obtruded upon Me with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War, when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating my conscience: 't is strainge, there can be no Method of peace, but by making war upon my soul.

Here are many things required of me, but I see nothing offer'd to me, by the way of grateful exchainge of Honour; or any requitall for those favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe Mee, to put Mee

on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserve to my Self the incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose loss nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to Me; and while I have any mastery of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them; who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian? My yeilding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience; which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods Grace) dearer to Me then my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to bind my Self to a generall and impli-

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cite consent to what-ever they shall desire or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-men, nor fit to be required of any man, much less of a King by his own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as he doth in place and power.

This were, as if *Samson* should have consented, not only to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eys, that the Philistins might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denyall, seems n arrogancy least of all becoming those who pretend to make their Addresses in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that, sufficiently confess their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted, with such an Answer as the Will and Reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to Consent or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to Me,

in Reason as a Man, and in Honour as a Sove-
raign King, (as undoubtedly it doth (how c
it be other then extreme injury to confine m
Reason to a necessity of granting all they ha
a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differin
from mine, both in reason and honour, as the
aims may be, and their qualities are? which
God and the Laws have sufficiently distin-
guisht, making Me their Soveraign, and the
my Subjects: whose Propositions may so
prove violent oppositions, if once they gain
be necessary impositions upon the Regall Au-
thority. Since no man seeks to limit and co
fine his King in Reason, who hath not a secr
aim to share with him, or usurp upon him
Power and Dominion.

But they would have me trust to their mod
ration, and abandon mine own discretion; th
so I might verifie what representations so
have made of Me to the world, that I am fitt
to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly, I
not so confident of my own sufficiency, as n
willingly to admit the Counsell of others: B
yet I am not so diffident of my Self, as bru
tishly to submit to any mens dictates, and
once to betray the Soveraignty of Reason
my Soul, and the Majesty of my own Crow
to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulit
to induce me fully to submit to all the desi

of those men, who will not admit, or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others Sitting and Voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men the most part of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed me how well they can govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from Me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government wholly out of my Own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like Jehu's; and whose forwardness to ascend the Throne of Supremacy pretends more of Phaeton, then of Phebus: God divert the Omen, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours: called to be my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Laws which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evill customs

preterlegall, and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by my Self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or ſome equable offerture were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of my Crown being conſidered by them, might fairly induce me to condeſcend to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my Self, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon and Religion binde Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve; without which 'tis impoſſible to preſerve my people according to my place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentials of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wiſdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practice of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpecial piety,

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but with pregnant and ſolid Reaſons, both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt Alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kindes, or to theſe ends: Nothing of any Laws diſ-jointed, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any juſtice to be unobſtructed; of any compenſations to be made; of any impartiall Reformation to be granted; to all or any of which Reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty or difficulty. I perceive, that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſms in the Church, and ſo puniſhable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Laws againſt them, and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This as to the main: Other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper in which thoſe are wrapped up, to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomly.

Nor do I ſo much wonder at the variety,

and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for).

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of England: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded, there remains in far the Major part of both Houses (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things, the institution and the corruption, the Government and the mis-government, the primitive Patterns and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negli-

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gence, or supine credulity (beleeving that all is good, which is guilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting judgment to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular Clamours and Tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence and policy to improve to their innovating Designes the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions, having so little, in my judgment, of Reason, Justice and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be back'd and seconded with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against my Person; yet the first shall never overcome Me, further then I see cause; for I look not at their number and power, so much as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, (which can be no other then the Hounds that attend the cry and hollow of those men, who hunt after factious and private Designes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did my Judgment tell Me, that the propo-

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ſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect my Own judgment, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want, ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch compleatneſs and inerrability as to exclude my Self; ſince none of them hath that part to act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve, as my Self; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence in neceſſary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wiſdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſs of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to me then this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them favour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, maſked under the name of Reformation; (which in my Two laſt famous Predeceſſours days heaved at,

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and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure, was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; how-ever it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and effect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countries; ſome thirſting after nothing more then a paſſionate revenge of what-ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt Me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſs doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safeey both of Church and State command me to chew ſuch morſels before I let them down; If the ſtraitneſs of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, then for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet, by Gods help, I

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am resolved, That nothing of passion or p
vishness, or list to contradict, or vanity
shew my negative power, shall have any
upon my judgment, to make me gratifie
will, by denying any thing which my Rea
and Conscience com[illegible]ands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to mo
then Reason, Justice, Honour and Relig
perswade me to be, for Gods glory, the Ch
ches good, my Peoples welfare, and my O
peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, a
my People; but I will never for fear, or fl
tery gratifie any Faction, how potent soeve
for this were to nourish the disease, and o
presse the Body.

Although many mens loyalty and prude
are terrified from giving me, that free, a
faithfull counsell, which they are able a
willing to impart, and I may want; yet no
can hinder me from craving of the counsell o
that mighty Counsellour, who can both sug
gest what is best, and incline my heart stedfa
ly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy Servant, first with clear discoveries of Truth Reason, and Justice in My Understanding then so confirm my will and resolution to adhe

to them, that no terrors, injuries or oppressions of my enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be less than a Man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedome is not denied to the meanest creature that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blamable in Me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING, *which Thou hast given to all men; and which Themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.*

To thee I make my supplication, Who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens Proposals; which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before Me.

Let not my own sinful passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy Glory be my end, thy Word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happie to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishness, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honor, my Kingdoms generall good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the Worlds opinion or diminution of me.

The less of Wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy Wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosness or humor; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flatterie of men.

Suffer me not to be guiltie or unhappie, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well bless honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil

and

and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemne Declarations of my mine which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or wast of my Conscience; Whereof thou O Lord onely hast deservedly more Master then My self.

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12. *Vpon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed that Sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drowne any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall finde the malicious Authour or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had

had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be upbraided. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to Me, being so full of sin against God, disloyaltie to my self, and destruction to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, was done with my privity (at least) if not by my Commission: But these knew too much that it is no news for some of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commission, but against my Command, and person too; yet all the while to pretend they fight by my Authority, and for my safety.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant Principles are more against Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodness of mens intentions excuse the scandal, and contagion of ill Examples.

But whoever fail of their duty towards me, I must bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have always done me, to think more injuries not proportionate to mine, nor contentious tryals, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

The

Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; charging Me not only with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of loss and dishonour by what is committed; whereby, (in all policy, reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world, the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and blood of my Own Subjects; in whose common welfare my Interest lies as much, as some mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evill times; nor so cunningly, as in laying the odium of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity which some men carried before them in England, was not the least incentive that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of Discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fuell for Rebellion in Ireland; where despair being added to their former Discontents, and the fears of utter Extirpation

tirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it wa
eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion a peo
ple prone enough to break out into all exorb
tant violence, both by ſome principles of the
Religion, and the naturall deſires of liberty
both to exempt themſelves from their preſe
reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigour
wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparan
threatned by the covetous zeal, and unchar
table fury of ſome men, who think it a gre
Argument of the truth of their Religion, t
endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with truth waſh m
hands in innocency, as to any guilt in that Re
bellion; ſo I might waſh them in my tears,
to the ſad apprehenſi ns I had to ſee it ſprea
ſo far, and make ſuch waſte: and this in
time wh n diſtractions and jealouſies here
England made moſt men rather intent to the
own ſafety, or deſignes they were drivin
then to the relief of thoſe who were every d
inhumanely butcher ed in Ireland: Who
tears and bloud might, if nothing elſe, ha
quenched, or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed a
ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civill Diſſentio
and Jealouſies which in England ſome m
moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſs a
fected with Irelands' ſad eſtate then my Self
I offered to go my Self in perſon upon th

Expedition: But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdom quieted; or loath they were to shoot at any mark here less then my Self; or that any should have the glory of my destruction but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruine had been so great, nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be: who either hindred the speedy suppressing of it by Domestick Dissentions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and Actions, by threatning all extremities, not onely to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole Community of that Nation; resolving to destroy Root and Branch, men women and children; without any regard to those usuall pleas for mercy which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to bear from their own brests, in behalf of those, whose oppressive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecility for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous (and I think) un-Evangelicall zeal is too like that of the rebuked Disciples,

who

who would go no lower in their revenge, the
to call for fire from heaven upon whole C
ties, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or li
that of Jacob's Sons, which the Father ha
blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use
extremities, which might drive men to desp
rate obstinacy, then to apply moderate rem
dies; such as might punish some with exempl
ry Justice, yet disarm others with tenders
mercy upon their submission, and our prote
on of them from the fury of those who wou
soon drown them, if they refused to swi
down the popular stream with them.

But some kinde of zeal counts all mercif
moderation luke-warmness; and had rather
cruell, then counted cold; and is not selde
more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, th
for any harm he hath done. The confiscat
of mens estates being more beneficiall, t
the charity of saving their lives, or reform
their errours.

When all proportionable Succours of
poor Protestants in Ireland (who were da
massacred, and over-born with number
now desperate Enemies) was diverted and
structed here; I was earnestly entreated,
generally advised by the chief of the Pro
stant party there, to get them some respite
breathing by a Cessation, without which t
saw no probability (unless by miracle) to

serve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knowes with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that businesse, by persons of Honour and Integrity, that so I might neither incourage the Rebells Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to suffer again in my reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumirated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety. If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Ireland*s sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skil to let blood then to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false, and evill, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeale to his omniscience, who doth not

not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo farre to try my patience, as he did his ſervants *Job's*.

I have enough to doe to look to my own Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes and hearts, as naſily as ſmoke, or ſparkes doe out of a fornace. Much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give ſuch men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to beleeve any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to doe well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worſt enimies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill do better then they deſire, or deſerve I ſhould.

I beleeve it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to imbroyl my other Kingdomes are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not-timely ſtopping those horrid effuſions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my enimies pleaſe to ſay or thinke) I looke upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my owne veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my ſelfe

ſelfe; And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God wil at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough:* and command the Sword of civill Warres to ſheath it ſelf: his mercifull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure: the abatement of our ſins, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and My Kingdomes have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve, ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians unleſſe we crucifie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Error and bitterneſſe, of mutuall and mortall hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruin.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſinnes, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſinnes be ever more grievous to us than thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the ſea of our Saviours bloud drowne our ſinnes, and through this red ſea of our own bloud bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make Me ſuffer in all my Subjects ſufferings; ſo give Me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King and a loving Father of My People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell Zeale hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdomes.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poore Proteſtants in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the waies of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles, which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised, or fomented those cruell and desperate Warres.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadst pity on Niniveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.*

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the fornace of thy severe justice a Posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deale with Me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloudy distractions; then let thy hand be against me, and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to emprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies, spare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before my owne Interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publike good. I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England* with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late New modell, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vaine flourishes

flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to conform the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent meanes, before the divine Juſtice: I leave to their conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the meanes, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that forme which they cry up, as the onely juſt Reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergie through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Preſbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeale, and pious Diſcretion, for any Forraigne State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That

may kill one, which doth but cure ano-
ther.

Nor do I know any such tough and mali-
nant humours in the constitution of the *Eng-
lish* Church, which gentler applications than
those of an Army, might not easily have re-
moved: Nor is it so proper to hew out relig-
ous Reformations by the Sword, as to pe-
lish them by faire and equall disputations a-
mong those that are most concerned in the
differences, whom not force, but Reason
ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut
off all disputation here, then to procure a fai
and equall one: For, it was concluded that
that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the
Scots pattern before ever they could be heard
what they could say for themselves, or against
the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both
for their credits, who urge things with such
violence; and for other mens Consciences
too, who can receive little satisfaction in those
points which are maintained rather by Sol-
diers fighting in the Feild, than Schollars dis-
puting in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths
gain most on mens Judgements and Consci-
ences, which are least urged with secular vio-
lence, which weakens Truth with prejudices
an

and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch meanes of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemnes mens obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.

Which no charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many learned and pious Church men in *England*; who being alwaies bred up, and conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacy, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former opinion and practiſe, only becauſe that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force aſſiſt a like Party here, either to drive all Miniſters, as ſheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or deſtroy them; at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* ſole Presbytery were proved to be the only inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Chriſt had given thoſe *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commiſſion by the Sword to ſet it up in any of my Kingdomes, without my Conſent.

What reſpect and obedience Chriſt and his Apoſtles pay'd to the chief Governours of States where they lived, is very clear in the Goſpell; but that he, or they ever commanded to ſet up ſuch a parity of Presbyters, and in ſuch a way as thoſe *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very diſputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others; and is the first and only point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon this point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obtestations, & pious threatnings, but only this; to represent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a Warre; which some men chiefly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but number, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patterne, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery

bytery seekes to suppresse, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church-government, and specially as to the particular Lawes and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdome, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, & his Churches good; which I think my self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine Own; and the Salvation of mens soules above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designes, till they have first gained

my consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle my Religion; nor any mans else, who knowes what Religion means: And how farre it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty and gratitude to me: then I wondered how those here, could so much distrust God's assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Armes and Ammunition, My Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the Juſtifiableneſſe of their doings, and deſignes before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People, what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come in to their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoone after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed government and diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendome for their advice in a full and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the

filmes

filmes and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſigns; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruins of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects towards me, as to make Me to deſpaire of their returne; when beſides the bonds of nature and conſcience, which they have to Me, all Reaſon and true Policie will teach them that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſſe to any Party of the people, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honor for their own advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply My ſelf to God.

The Troubles of My Soule are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of My diſtreſſe.

Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of thy pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.

Deliver Me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyne in hand, yet let them not pro-

prevail against My soule, to the betraying of My Conscience, and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah *and* Israel, *to restore* David *with as much loyall zeale, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue Him.*

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightnesse in Me, and I shall not despaire of My Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let me not be ashamed; let not My enemies tryumph over Me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute My Soul.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve Me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon*

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Preſbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Anxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and faire pretenſions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacy; This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemne a charm & exorciſm be caſt out of this Church, after more than a thouſand years poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, and an univerſall preſcription of time and practiſe in all other Churches ſince the Apoſtles times till this laſt Century.

But no Antiquity muſt plead for it, Preſbytery, like a young Heire, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Biſhops Chaire & Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to My ſelfe with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching the Diſcipline & Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths & Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſſe, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no cleare morall neceſſity; but very diſputable, and controvrted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certainty in ones ſelfe, or that charity and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuſes faire and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters only probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon people muſt needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But

But ambitious minds never think they have laid ſnares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by ſuch politicke and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the populacy faſt to their Parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Lawes, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Party, without My conſent, and without any like power or preſident from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects conſciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull waies; ſince I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and meanes they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touches of Conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious & ambitious)

by

by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their known and ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelfe.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgment, That ſuch later Vowes, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Soules.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues & Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the cõmon road, uſed in all factious & powerfull perturbations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied & elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practiſe, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who ayme to ſubdue all to their owne will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wyths will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends and

and twists them: for every man soon grows his owne Pope, and easily absolves himselfe of those ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vaine, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injuriours, if by such after-ligaments they find the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegall waies seldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, the diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions and reservations, so as they crosse not their chiefe Designe which is laid against the Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many

that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly & superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yeelded to it more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall clauses may (perhaps) serve somwhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good conscience, which are certaine and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the generall; or the Laws of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appeare, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoyne it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep

it

it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publique Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile temper, as disposed them to so sudden acting & compliance, contrary to their former judgment, profession, and practise) such foule scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgment I cannot but prefer before any mens now fictiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advise) be by Gods Word, and right reason, convinced to be amisse, I have offered more than ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequele of some mens actions make it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbyter

bytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights then the Bishops, and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deare, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne with My Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of my Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which

which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to do: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red Sea of a Civill War, where nothing but a miracle can save either It or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessor *Henry 3.* sometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the people to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have inriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests & People, is well enough known: And so it will be here when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be.

It

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no lesse than a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repaire the breaches of the State without the ruine of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressor of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addresse My prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Re-

formation

formation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or t
engage them to any contrary practiſes.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, tha
nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacrileg
under the zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not ſacrilegious deſignes to have th
countenance of religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of King
that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, a
after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from conſenting to pe
jurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may n
have the brand and curſe to all poſterity of rob
bing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bount
hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepte
from us, wherewith to encourage Learning an
Religion.

Though My Treaſures are Exhauſted, My Re
venues Diminiſhed, and My Debts Encreaſe
yet never ſuffer Me to be tempted to uſe ſuch pr
fane Reparations; leſt a coal from thine Altar ſ
ſuch a fire on My Throne and Conſcience as m
be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts & Engagements of the Pub
lique, which ſome mens folly and prodigal
hath contracted, be an occaſion to impover
thy Church.

The State may ſoon recover, by thy bleſſing
peace upon us; The Church is never likely,
time

times, where the Charity of moſt men is growne ſo cold, and their Religion ſo illiberall.

Continue to thoſe that ſerve Thee and thy Church all thoſe incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the juſtice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy glory, and the reliefe of the poore; That thy Prieſts may be cloathed with righteouſneſſe, and the poore may be ſatisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not ſatisfied.

Let thoſe ſacred morſels, which ſome men have already by violence devoured never digeſt with them, nor theirs: Let them be as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottenneſſe to their names, a moth to their Families, & a ſting to their Conſciences.*

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and ſacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together againſt the Church and State, that the folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.

15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stir up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and God's protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of reall causes, which might seem to justifie unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open hostility come short of these designes: For, I could more willingly loose My Crownes, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdomes so deare to Me, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of immortality, when I am dead & gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foule and false aspersions were the engines at first employed against My people's love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs

ight at once blow up their affections, and
ter downe their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment
My Honor is not so afflictive to Me, as the
nd danger of My peoples soules, whose
es once blinded with such mists of suspici-
ns, they are soon misled into the most de-
erate precipices of actions: wherein they do
t only, not consider their sin and danger,
t glory in their zealous adventures; while I
rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that
ny are ambitious to merit the name of My
estroyers; Imagining they then feare God
ost, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pitie
as above My anger; nor have my passions
er so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My
ost compassionate prayers for them, whom
evout errours more than their owne malice
ve betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most
rt of My Subjects fought against My sup-
osed Errours, not My Person; and intended
o mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that
God pardoning their Errours, hath so farre
ccepted and answered their good intentions,
hat as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath
y these afflictions prepared me, both to doe
im better service, and My people more good
han hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their ſ
ductions, which occaſioned their loyall in
ries, then I am ambitious by all Princely m
rits, to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſ
cions, and reward them for their good int
tions.

I am too conſcious to My own Affect
toward the generality of my people, to ſuſp
theirs to Me; nor ſhall the malice of My E
mies ever be able to deprive Me of the co
fort, which that confidence gives Me; I ſh
never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few w
any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegian
whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſ
never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad interp
tations of moſt of My Subjects actions; w
poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Heret
in point of Loyalty.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done to my S
jects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to my ſelf
our welfares being inſeparable; in this o
they ſuffer more then My ſelf, that they
animated by ſome feducers to injure at o
both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of
Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt
done by ſuch inſtruments, that My afflict
grieve me not more, then this doth, that I
afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I c
ne

eſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily eplore.

If they had been My open and forraigne nemies, I could have borne it; but they muſt e My owne Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the reſtoring whoſe tranquillity, I could willingly be the onah; If I did not evidently foreſee, that the divided Intereſts of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of heir miſeries would be rather increaſed then layed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then ule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of ut Dominion which is but My Right, as of heir happineſſe; If it could expiate, or counervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the highſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt heir Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of e, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to eſert, or diſhonorably to betray My owne ſt Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to grahe ambition, or juſtifie the malice of My nemies; between whoſe malice, & other mens iſtakes, I put as great a difference, as beween an ordinary Ague and the Plague; r the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo Ma-

licious persons need good inventions; t
their calumnies may fit every mans fancy;
what their reproaches want of truth, they
make up with numbers and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better
Me to bear, and My charity to forgive,
My leisure to answer the many false A
sions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subject
tisfaction, then My own Vindication, I sh
never have given the malice of some men
pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, o
member what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be puni
by their own evill manners, and feared C
sciences, which will, I believe, in a shor
time then they be aware of, both confute
revenge all those black and false Scand
which they have cast on Me; And make
world see, there is as little truth in them,
there was little worth in the broaching
them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty
the not suppressing of them; whose credit
reputation, even with the people, shal ere l
be quite blasted by the breath of that
fornace of popular obloquy, and detract
which they have studied to heat & inflame
the highest degree of infamy, and whe
they have sought to cast and consume
Name and Honour.

F

First, nothing gave Me more cauſe to ſuſpect, and ſearch My own Innocency; then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety; For this gave to vulgar mindes ſo bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to Blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſs of the means uſed,

nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens judgments muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine, they thought them could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of My Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſetled in the Confeſſion & Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the moſt calme, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing

ieving it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt My Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid, and did, ſo they might prevaile.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fal out, where there is the ſameneſs of duty, Allegiance, and ſubjection: The firſt they own as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they owe to Me in Common, as their KING; different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes; And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who find moſt fault with me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions.

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce Me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their duty to help me to defend My ſelf.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King in such exigents to use the aide of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evill Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their owne, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsel that they would not give me leave to take it with freedome, as a Man; or honour, as a King; making their counsels more like a drench that must be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely dranke, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errour and frailties My selfe, or My Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages,

yet

yet such as were farre more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me, or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractions, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those now (so zealous Persecutors) both of the com-

comfort & reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much glorie among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their deſignes, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to do what every man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Lawes, and Religion; I envie not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; So farre am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me ſo prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſignes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peeres, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Lawes allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Orna-

Ornament and Protection; others their Meancles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth his rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety while he ſeekes an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt informe My Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt, or beyond the Lawes.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt all Lawes, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I wil rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud & arrogant activity, which ſeekes to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire My Lawes and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake,

giving

giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſſe and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principall) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentifull Eſtates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent, and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; ſo My reputation ſhall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ferall birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than

than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will do Me good, for some mens hard, false, and evill speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and downe to set all places on like flames) than those men doe, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speak evill of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those*, who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, should not Honour their KING.

They wil easily contemn such shadowes of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veiles be able to hide the

shining

ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majeſty.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My reproach, and My diſhonour, My Adverſaries are all before thee.

My ſoul is among Lyons, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Sons of Men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrowes; their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt Me are ſworne together.

O My God, how long ſhall the ſons of men turne My glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt My Enemies prevaile againſt me, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies: the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirſty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteouſneſſe to appear as the light, and mine innocency to ſhine forth as the Sun at noone day.

Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine innocence, nor my diſpleaſure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being curſed by them, I may bleſſe them.

Thou

Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpuniſhed; when by thy judgements on* David *he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for theſe my enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with theſe malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to ſilence their evill-ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.*

Let Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches,* Rabſhekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *curſing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, ſo thy renewed bleſſing toward me.*

Though they curſe, do thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſſing to my people.

That the ſtone, which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.

Looke downe from heaven, and ſave me, from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.

16. *Upon*

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no newes to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, must needs undoe whatever was formerly setled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdome or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Soules more immediate converse with the divine Majestie) nothing could be more plausible to the people than to tel them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgie, or Forms of constant Prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publike advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered, and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and those that used it according to their consciences, and the Lawes in force, it must be

crucified

crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary veine and fluency: or others, who conscious to their owne formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the balme upon it, & a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Booke, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavills and exceptions of those who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery & Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words being knowne and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a wel-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulnesse.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian

ſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of prayer, ſince he praies to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well beforehand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good, when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I heare, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not only diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patterne of all ſet Liturgies, in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expreſſions, in publike prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater band of ſin, than that which they call Coldneſſe and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts) than

than in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer and devotion, than un-premeditated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite justle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Booke were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advise, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, infnrme the Hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soule of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any

private

private man by his ſolitary abilities, can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, & flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of publike compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order, and gravity, becoming thoſe duties; which by this meanes

are

are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdome and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of publike composure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schismes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in and abet those innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the publike Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severitie of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-book; or refused to use it, cried out of the rigour of Lawes and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their

their Conſciences in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſudden change the Liturgie into a Directory, as if Spirit needed help for invention, though n for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed d not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as it were cloathed in, and confined to fit word (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain whi will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe t Common-Prayer-Booke publikely, althoug their conſciences bind them to it, as a duty Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be great Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upo others to conform to their illegall novelti then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt di poſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitu tions; and whoſe licentious humours mo pretended conſcientious liberties, which fre dome, with much regret they now allow t Me, and My Chaplains, when they may ha leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even in the extemporary way comes not ſhort of the o thers, but their modeſty and learning far ceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature ſome men knew it would not bear learned ſober debates, leſt being convinced by the

ence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should ve beene driven either to sin more against ir knowledge, by taking away the Litur-; or to displease some faction of the peo- by continuing the use of it.

Though I beleeve they have offended more nsiderable men, not only for their numbers d estates, but for their weighty and judi- ous piety, than those are, whose weaknesse giddinesse they sought to gratifie by ta- g it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found th the Common-Prayer-Book, I beleeve, s this, That it taught them to pray so oft Me; to which Petitions they had not yaltie enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Chari- enough to forbeare Reproaches, and even rsings of Me in their own formes, instead praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their only nishment; that seeing the mischiefs, which disuse of publicke Liturgies hath already oduced, they may restore that credit, use, d reverence to them, which by the ancient urches were given to Set Forms of sound d wholsome words,

And thou, O Lord which art the same God, sed for ever: whose mercies are full of va- y, and es of constancy Thou deniest us not a

new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor dispise set renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-advised devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirit will perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keepe men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their owne abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Errour consists in novelty and variety as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and or-

der

der, under this fallacy, that constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord keepe us from formall Hypocrisie in our inne hearts, and then Wee know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, *and other holy men) in the same formes cannot hurt us.*

Give us Wisdome to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeale, and over-bold devotion.

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17. *Of the differences betweene the* KING *and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintaine it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may

best restraine the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so farre the Keys of the People hearts, as they prevail much by their Orato to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyal

So that I being (as King) intrusted by God and the Lawes, with the good both of Chur and State; I see no Reason I should give up or weaken by any change, that power and in fluence which in right and reason I ought have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an count) was sufficient to take off any suspicion that I encline to them for any use to be ma of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy sit in that House, who would not Vote acco ding to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desir to preserve that Government in its ri constitution, as a matter of Religion; where both My judgement is fully satisfied, that hath of all other the fullest Scripture ground and also the constant practise of all Christi Churches; till of late yeares, the tumultuo nesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pri of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of so States and Princes, gave occasion to so mens wits to invent new models, and prop

em under ſpecious titles of *Chriſt Govern-*
e, Scepter, and Kingdome; the better to
ve their turns, to whom the change was be-
ficiall.

They muſt give Me leave, (having none of
ir temptations to invite Me to alter the
overnment of Biſhops, (that I may have a
le to their Eſtates) not to believe their pre-
ded grounds to any new waies: contrary
the full and conſtant teſtimony of all Hi-
ries, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſed men;
as the Primitive Churches were undoub-
ly governed by the Apoſtles and their im-
diate Succeſſours the firſt & beſt Biſhops;
t cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed,
r all Churches in the world ſhould either
ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or
ſoon deviate from their divine & holy pat-
n: That ſince the firſt Age for 1500 years
one Example can be produced of any ſet-
Church, wherin were many Miniſters and
ongregations, which had not ſome Biſhop
ove them under whoſe juriſdiction and go-
rnment they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe a-
eeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-
ections, and examples, are ſet down in the
piſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling
that Government, not in the perſons onely
Timothy and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion;

(the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispence with, in point of wel-being, than the want of the word and Sacraments in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution: which to me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the maine scope and designe of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar Office, Power, and anthority in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline: then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude aud community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be cal'd *Bishops*; as to the oversight ond care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles as a name in the Churches stile apropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that

special

ſpeciall dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters, untill uſe, (the great arbitrator of words, and maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpeciall authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpicion or reproach of arogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolicall propagation rightly deſcended & inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpeciall power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chiefe grounds and limits of all Epiſcopall claime, as from divine right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who not enduring ſound doctrine, and cleare teſtimonies of all Churches practiſe, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers, againſt

true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Tra
tours and Boasters, yet they seem to be ve
covetous, heady, high-minded; inordin
and fierce, lovers of themselves, having m
of the form, little of the power of godlin

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, a
unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay & smo
ther the pregnancy & authority of that pow
of Episcopall Government, which, beyo
all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of name
is most convincingly set forth, both by Scri
ture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then
Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever th
Papers be publique) that I had faire grou
both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccles
sticall examples, whereon my judgement w
stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstin
of will, or partiality of affection, either to
men, or their Function which fixed Me: w
cannot in point of worldly respects be so c
siderable to Me as to recompence the injur
and losses I and My dearest relations with M
Kingdomes have sustained, and hazarde
chiefly at first upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scri
ture is the best rule, and the Churches Un
versall practise the best commentary, but al
in right reason, and the true nature of Go
vernmen

vernment, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity, then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders, & a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them amongst Christian Ministers; who have as much of the principles of schisme and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdome (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied so many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdome and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and injoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this

Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit meanes to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoyd Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a meanes to take away that burden, and *odium* of affaires, which may ly too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I thinke it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is Paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not only the neceeessity of avoyding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equalls in power and function, but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any preoccupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well knowne I have endeavoured to satisfie My selfe in what the chiefe Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I finde they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for ex-

amples

amples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, wherein the whole streame runs so for Episcopaty, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late Reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affaires rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conforme to those few, rather then to the Catholique example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdomes lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I thinke) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdome or charity, where Christians differ, (as many doe in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-Government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall

ſhall never perſwade them that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primative, and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, not Hereticks (except thoſe Arians) have ſtrayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops by the Clergy, as wel as the Laity of theſe Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences; So that their facility & levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-govern-ment had any free & impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Lawes in force, and againſt My conſent, have not only quite cryed down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved & incouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Churchmen, of their due Authority and Revenues, even

the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses. So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it selfe, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appeare the greatest Enemies to, and Betrayers of their owne interest: for Presbytery is never so considereable or effectuall as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the people, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dewes of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soone let them see, what a poore carcasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworne.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firme to Primitiue Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reforme whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Lawes, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse

vulgar

vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practise all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which my Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countreies have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I looke upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthnings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanesse exposing them and their authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time my judgement of men failed my good intention made my errour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours to be redeemed from

that

that vulgar neglect; which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtraine them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for my judgement touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſigne or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeeke to force Me their KING and Soveraigne, as ſome men have endeavoured to doe, againſt all theſe grounds of my Judgement, to conſent to their weake and divided novelties. The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more then I do, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other waies: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy & ſolitude; when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe

those Presbyters they ordained as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being necessary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied & sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power & superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the ends and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy, and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blowne up some mens minds against it, that what they want in Reasons or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeale for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eate up Episcopacy: which (howsoever other men esteem) to Me is no lesse sin, than Sacriledge or a robbery of God (the giver of al we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agree-

to my judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfullnesse of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soone, with Judgement, breake that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade me at at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacriledge & Perjury? Besides the many personall Injustices I must doe to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seeke to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſse of Conscience and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious freedome which every man ought to preserve; & of which they seeme so tender in their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs perswade Me.

That

That I must, and ought to dispence with, and roundly breake that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange My lot should be valid in that part, which both My selfe, and all men in their own case, esteeme injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our soules; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I thinke My selfe justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions; till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knowes) I utterly dislike, and in My soule abhor; as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give My consent; yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be rightly ob-

jected

jected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me, to conſent to the like in My other Kingdoms; For it ſhould be conſidered that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgement beſt, I may not thinke ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places, & at all times.

If any ſhall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and ſin, I can eaſily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do ſo againe, or much worſe; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been ſo happy and ſucceſſefull as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekeneſſe, Juſtice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect My judgement to be biaſſed, or fore-ſtalled with ſome prejudice and wontedneſſe of opinion; but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the manners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whoſe paternes are ſo cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have ſo flouriſhed be-

beyond what they have done in my Kingdomes (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it farre better to hold to primitive and uniforme Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters and sober People; so as Church affaires should be managed neither with tyrannie, parity nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of my Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse and tenderneſſe, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborne against my Conscience.

Arise O Lord, maintaine thine owne Cause, that not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath

been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſingular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pitty, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING, *yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve, from Sacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their ſinnes and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wild Boare, and ſubtill Foxes, to waſte and deforme thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not beare the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the firſt Chriſtian KING, *in this Kingdome, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; thoſe errours I would rather with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reforme with meekneſſe,*

than

than expose their persons, and sacred Functions to vulgar contempt.

Then, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches Peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

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18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the* KING.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of my Reason, than my Sword:

was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither My selfe, nor others, should need to use the second, if once wee rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianity *to seek peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My selfe with Armes; so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischiefe of the meanes.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hops of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give Me leaue

leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse or of such consequence; as in the least kind to have hindred my Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which to deny, I thinke the greatest Justice to My self and favour to my Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in Warre, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affaires, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me; yet I was willing to condescend so farre to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance and Authority to the Church Government and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set downe My thoughts more

ſtry) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the Primitive Apoſtolicall patterne, and the practiſe of the Univerſall Church conforme thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any propable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſome mens wils and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſſe, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather loſe the Churches honour, than moſſe ſome mens Factious humours.

God knowes, and time will diſcover, who were moſt too blame for the un-ſuccesfulneſſe of that Treaty, & who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excuſible both before God, and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe the reſtauration of Peace to My people, than the preſervation of my own Crowns to my Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condeſcendings, as Arguments of feebleneſſe, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtifneſſe, when they ſee others muſt ſupple & inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwaies

to ask ſomthing, which in reaſon and ho
muſt be denied, that they might have ſo
colour to refuſe all that was in other thi
granted; ſetting peace at as high a rate as
worſt effects of War; endeavouring firſt
make Me deſtroy My ſelfe, by diſhonoura
Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the le
to do.

This was all which that Treaty or any
ther produced, to let the world ſee how lit
I would deny, or they grant, in order to t
publike Peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens furth
reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depr
ved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or N
gations of Mine: I have alwaies the conte
of what I offered, and they the regret, an
blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not abo
a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Figh
though I never thought it any ſigne of tr
valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rath
then to be drawne to produce our own re
ſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part pa
ſage the unſucceſfulneſſe of any Treaty, wa
ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: whi
implied ſome things were to be gained by t
Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they wo
loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more p

er to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the sword a better opportunity to use such moderation as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy selfe: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the bolod of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth, both in Reason as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evills of Warre we have deserved, and bestow upon us that peace, which only Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the War; Victories, & Defeats*

THe various successes of this unhappy war, have at least afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to trie Me with Victorie, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to owne, and use his power, who is only the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those, that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part he let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins somtimes prevailed against the justice of my Cause: and those that were with me wanted

wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Me: Nor were my enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was began by most riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of publike ingagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour, and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their soules.

Those with me had (I think) clearely and undoubtedly for their Justification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their owne Oaths; all requiring obedience to my just commands; but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising Armes.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wild fundamentalls of State (as they call them)

which actually overthrow the preſent fabric both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Lawes: firſt by unſuppreſſing the Tumults, after by liſted Forces: The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power & confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Lawes & Governours; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt Me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied only to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantagious deſignes by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church and My ſelf, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with

eter-

eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their Soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish & disloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against My side in the Field, but never, I believe at the barre of Gods Tribunall, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds; which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most

triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false & un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the only plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against me and the Lawes established; in whose safety & preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is farr more honourable and comfortable to suffer, than to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might joyne true piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own soules, as they were to me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shewes, or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty & Loyalty to me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for me.

I never had any victory which was with-

my sorrow, because it was on my own Subjects, who, like *Absolom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Lawes and Liberties of my people; which I saw were extreamly oppressed, together with my Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave me, or denied me Victory, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring my Enemies to moderation, & my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over my self. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winow us: that, by punishing our sinnes, he might purge them from us, and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Meſſages for peace ſhewed, that I delighted not in War: as My former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparedneſſe for it, how little I intended it.

The conſcience of My Innocency forbad Me to feare a Warre; but the love of My Kingdomes commanded Me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing, but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeelded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the Warre; I wiſh only a happy concluſion of ſo unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our ſinnes was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, and condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide impaire the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſinnes unſubdued; flaſhing of pride

pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Warres; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and my Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when

we

we are nothing; that thou mayſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knoweſt, how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evill from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evills which they compell me to inflict upon them; puniſhing my ſelfe in their puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer; I beſeech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which onely can be ſufficient for me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt reformed; that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end of theſe civill diſtractions, but a chiefe inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firme, & bleſſed Peace to my Kingdomes.

Stirre up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-deniall, as becomes thoſe, who conſider, that our mutuall diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the Union of all is every mans chiefeſt intereſt.

If O Lord, as for the ſinnes of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of warre; ſo for the ſinnes of warre thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy Ser-

vant,

gent, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the bloud of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſſe and griefe, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that precious bloud, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt. Who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour Me ſo farre, as to make me an Inſtrument of ſo good a worke, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee after the free-

freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance the paſſions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite ſcandall of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church; what novelties of Schiſmes, and corrupt opinions; what undecences and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt & oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and perſecuting of Me, have followed, (as ſhowres do warm gleams) the talke of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with My ſelf, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeale, and the publique ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaſeth.

I

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so it's like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church Affaires, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedome and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-aw'd, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practise) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, & if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgmen.

ment and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes in force, and My consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels; and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designes: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not

not but ſmother their fruſtrations, and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles, of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windowes, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light, wherein they live; The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities, in the publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, & Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five yeares conſultation had matured

their

their thoughts, touching their first Principle of Religion.

All these, and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformation (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) & may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes, and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre, by the advantage

vantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self & all My Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up; If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of Publick Reformations, to such private designes as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs

Christ's Government will confirm Mi
not overthrow it, since as I own Mine fro
Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and
Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's G
vernment, or knew what it meant, in the
hearts, they could never have been so ill g
verned in their words and actions, both aga
me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means,
nor wil evil beginnings ever bring forth goo
conclusions; unlesse God, by a miracle o
Mercie, create Light out of Darkneſſe, orde
out of our confusions, and peace out of o
passions.

*Thou, O Lord, who only canst give us bea
for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer m
to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall wi
ings instead of Christian reformings.*

*Our greatest deformities are within, mak
the severest Censurers, and first Reformers
our own soules.*

*That we may in clearnesse of judgement, a
uprightnesse of heart be means to reform wh
is indeed amisse in Church and State.*

*Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and re
right spirits within us; that we may do all
thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy bl
sing.*

Pity the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruell reformers have brought upon this Church and ſtate; Quench the fires which Factions have kindled under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions, and confuſions, what is the pravity of ſome mens intentions, and weakneſſe of their judgements; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetouſneſſe, or ſacrilege, may have any influence upon their councells, whom thy providence in juſt and lawfull waies, ſhall entruſt with ſo great, goood, and now moſt neceſſary work. That I and my people may be ſo bleſt with inward piety, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peace.

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21. *Vpon His Majeſties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an oportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected; ſo they know not how with honour and civility to uſe it: Nor doe I thinke with ſober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend ſo much to my reproach, as the odious

odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of vertue and nobleneſſe being diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemy, and the greateſt obligations being thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of My Papers; the freedome and ſecreſie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expoſe them to publike view.

Yet ſince providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudy to approve to Gods omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world, without any of thoſe dreſſes, or popular captations, which ſome men uſe in their Speeches, and Expreſſes; I wiſh my Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into My moſt retired thoughts:

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve My owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happineſſe, and that extreme griefe to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to ſee My conſtancy to My Wife, the Lawes, and Religion.

Bees

Bees will gather honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondences; no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happie if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens design, like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of My chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to my own, then my peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those My Letters may be convinced,

that

that I can both mind and act my owne, as my Kingdomes Affaires, ſo as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwa been very loath ſhould be believed of me, as I were wholly confined to the Dictates a Directions of others; whom they pleaſe brand with the names of evill Counſe lours.

Its probable ſome men will now look up me as my own Counſellour, and having no elſe to quarrell with under that notion, th will hereafter confine their anger to my ſelf Although I know they are very unwilling ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own thoug or follow the light of my own conſcience which they labour to bring into an abſolut captivity to themſelves; not allowing me thinke their Counſells to be other then go for me, which have ſo long maintained a Wa againſt me.

The Victorie they obtained that day, wh my Letters became their prize, had been nough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitio thirſt of popular glorie among the Vulg with whom proſperitie gaines the great eſteem and applauſe; as adverſitie expoſeth their greateſt ſlighting and diſrepect: As good fortune were always the ſhadow of v tue and juſtice, and did not oftner attend ous and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeeme ſufficito that cauſe, which began with Tumults, depends chiefly upon the reputation with vulgar:

They think no victories ſo effectuall to ir deſignes as thoſe, that moſt rout and ſte my credit with my People; in whoſe arts they ſeek by all meanes to ſmother and inguiſh all ſparke of Love, Reſpect and alty to Me, that they may never kindle ain, ſo as to recover mine, the Lawes, and Kingdomes Liberties, which ſome men ke to overthrow: The taking away of my dit is but a neceſſary preparation to the ing away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; ſt I muſt ſeeme neither fit to Live, nor wor- to Reigne; By exquiſite methods of cun- and cruelty, I muſt be compelled, firſt follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and en be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-er- and impartiall Juſtice can, and will over- the moſt perverſe wills and deſignes of en; He is able, and (I hope) will turne even worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and acti- to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the ſurprize of Letters, I have loſt any more then ſo ma- papers; How much they have loſt of that putation, for civility and Humanity (which ght to be pay'd to all men, and moſt be-

becomes such as pretend to Religion) beſi
that of reſpect and Honour, which they ow
to their KING, preſent, and after-times
judge. And I cannot think that their ow
conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict up
them ſome ſecret impreſſions of that ſha
and diſhonour, which attends all unwor
actions, have they never ſo much of publi
flattery, and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the di
approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if t
doe but remember how God bleſt the mod
reſpect and filiall tenderneſſe, which *N*
Sonnes bare to their Father; nor did his
infirmity juſtifie *Chams* impudency, or ex
him from that curſe of being *Servant of*
vants; which curſe muſt needs be on them
ſeek by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe
Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts,
dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be
either excuſable, or proſperous; who tho
by this means to expoſe Me, to the higheſt
proach and contempt of My People; for
ting that duty of modeſt concealment, w
they owed to the Father of their Country
caſe they had diſcovered any reall uncom
neſſe; which, I thank God they did not;
can, and I beleeve hath made Me more r
ſted in the hearts of many (as he did *D*

whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as a vile person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under notion of Majesty.

Thou O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affairs; make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his owne ruine: so canst thou defeat their designe, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else but to render me more odious and contemptible to My People.*

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who best witnesse my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are which my enemies endeavor by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their owne confusion, as with a Cloake.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all meanes to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishon-
red for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpoſe to honour thee, and th
I know thou wilt honour me, either by reſtor-
to me the enjoyment of that Power & Ma-
which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeize
deprive me of; or by beſtowing on me t
Crowne of Chriſtian patience, which kn
how to ſerve thee in honour, or diſhonour,
good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountaine of glo
and honour; thou art cloathed with excell
Majeſty; make me to partake of thy excel
for wiſdome, juſtice, and mercy, and I ſhall
want that degree of Honour, and Ma
which becomes the Place in which thou ha
Me; who art the lifter up of My head, and
ſalvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glo
which is both true and eternall.

22. *M*

21. *Vpon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough GOD hath given mee three Kingdomes, yet in these He hath not now left me any place, where I may with safety and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himselfe is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, *I* look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that *I* may wholly cast my selfe, and my now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellour, and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may disarme and overcome them; my rendring my Person to Them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they meane not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be my cheifest Guard; My Conscience both My Councellour and Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soule to God, and My selfe; nor shall any necessity compell me, to desert mine Honour, or swerve from my Iudgment.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them, in such a way of unquestioned confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to desert Me of Military power to defend My selfe; but to arme Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered to me, and apply to those that have Opposed Me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds already

already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for My Freinds ſafety, than Mine owne; chuſing to venture my ſelfe upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt, better fairly to go over, than to conteſt in vaine.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce *My* judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up My ſouls liberty, or make my conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded My conſent to their new demands.

I thank God no ſucceſſe, darknes, or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſtr all no leſſe conforme my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had bin, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the Divineſt power. *I* ſhall never think my ſelfe weakned while *I* may make full and free uſe of that. No Eclipſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denyed of outward ſtrength, his grace *I* hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not moroſity to deny, what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf leſſe then my ſelfe

while I am able thus to preserve the integrity of my conscience, the only Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Soules, the only Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee. To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my selfe.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battaile, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perverseness of will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus farre to hazard my Person, Peace, and Safety, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from Mee.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience always accompany Me in my solitude and dessertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of My Soule, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Last

Lead Me in the paths of thy righteousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my wayes to please thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

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3. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* King *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the World in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them I am onely sorry they should doe it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himselfe; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himselfe, that in him I may enjoy my selfe, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leiſure enough to ſtudy the woulds vanity, and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my Soule in ſin, nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got my Perſon into their power, ſince my Soule is ſtill my owne; nor ſhall they ever gaine my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not evill Counſellours with me, but a good Conſcience in me, which hath beene fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh me; not more a King.

ing, and farre leſſe both Man and Chriſtian. What Tumults and Armies could not obtaine, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath more of danger.

The feare of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoule; Better others betray me, than my ſelfe; and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my conſcience; the greateſt injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my owne conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall decline the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelfe & Mine: Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo deare to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crownes, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Lawes will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice which

which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable which carries not with it his Souls, his Peoples and Poſterities thraldome.

After times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, than with them; happily I might redeem my ſelfe to ſome ſhew of liberty, if I would conſent to enſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirme many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, what ever becomes of me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with Me, whoſe preſence is better than life, and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedome.

Owne Me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complaine for want of that liberty which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe Me ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancy in Iuſtice, as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve Me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelfe; and

Which

which, cannot be taken from me against my will.
Let no fire of affliction boyle over My passion
any impatience or sordid fears.
Tho' there be many say of Me, there is no helpe for
him: doe thou lift up the light of thy Counte-
nance upon me, and I shall neither want safety
liberty, nor Majesty.
Give Me that measure of patience & Con-
stancy, which my condition now requires.
My strength is scattered, my expectation from
men defeated, My Person restrained. O be
not thou farre from Me lest My Enemies pre-
vaile too much against Me.
I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many:
but be thou my helper and Defender.
Shew some token upon me for good, that they
that hate me may be ashamed, because thou
Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me
with thy free Spirit, that I may do and suffer
thy will, as thou wouldst have mee.
Be mercifull to me O Lord, for my Soule tru-
steth in thee: yea and in the shadow of thy
wings will I make my refuge untill these cala-
mities be overpast.
Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O
my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I
trust in thy mercy and my Saviour merit.
I know that my redeemer liveth; though thou
leadest through the vayl and shadow of death,
yet shall I feare none ill.

24. *Upon their denying His Maiesty the Attendance of his Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil comforts & secular attendance, I thought the absence of them all might be be supplied by the attendance of some of My Chaplaines; whom for their Function *I* reverence and for their Fidelitie I have cause to love. By their learning, piety and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in God's good time: so reaping by their pious helpe a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thornes, and after the plowings of temporall crosses.

The truth is *I* never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined *Me* unto, adds the Wildernesse to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Mee, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My *Revenues*, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my *Kingdoms*, it had beene no wonder to have been denyed in those

ose things, where the evill policy of men bids all just restitution, least they should esse any injurious usurpation: But to deny the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplaines mes a greater rigour and barbarity, then ver used by Christians to the meanest pri. ers, and greatest Malefactors; whom ough the Justice of the Law deprive of dly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion ows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not ming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to mne their Soules.

But My Agonie must not be relieved with presence of anie one good Angell; for h I accounnt a Learned, Godly, and di. ect Divine: and such I would have all mine be.

They that envy My being a King, are loath should be a Christian, while they seek to de. ive Me of all things else, They are afraid I ould save my Soul.

Other Sense, Charitie it selfe can hardly pick ut of those manie harsh Repulses I received, to that Request so often made for the at. ndance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Vnchristian. esse of those denialls might arise from a dis. leasure some men had to see me prefer my owne Divines before their ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety

which

which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present comforters o... Physitians; Who have (some of them at leas... had so great an influence in occasioning the... calamities, and inflicting these wounds up... Me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt fo... that devotionall complyance, and juncture ... hearts, which I desire to bear in those ho... Offices, to be performed with Me, and fo... Me; since their judgements standing at a di... stance from me, or in jealousie of mee, or ... opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so... harmonieusly accord with mine, or mine with... theis, either in Prayer, or other holy dutyes, ... as is meet, and most comfortable; whose gol... den Rule, and bond of Perfection consists in ... that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, ... and some comforters more miserable then mi... sery it selfe; when like *Jobs* freinds, they seek ... not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but ... perswade a man by betraying his owne Inno... cency, to despair of Gods mercy; and by Ju... stifying their injuries, to strengthen the ... hands, and harden the hearts of insolent E... nemies.

I am so much a freind to all Church-men, ... that have any thing in them beseeming that ... sacred function, that I have hazarded my ...

own.

ne Interests, chiefly upon Conscience and
nstancy to maintain their Rights; whom
more I looked upon as Orphans and un-
the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and ra-
ious Reformers; so I thought it my duty
more to appear as a Father, and Patron
them and the Church. Although I am
y unhandsomly requited by some of them;
o may live to repent no lesse for My suffe-
gs, than their owne ungratefull errors, and
t injurious contempt and meanenesse, which
y have brought upon their Calling and Per-
s.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I
ought I might have leave to make choice of
ne for my speciall Attendants, who were
t approved in my Judgement and most
table to my affection. For, I held it better
seeme undevout, and to hear no mens pray-
s, than to be forced or seem to comply with
ose petitions, to which the heart cannot con-
ur, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without con-
dicting a mans owne understanding or bely-
g his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane bold-
esse, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble
nd iudicious gravity as shews the Speaker to
e at once considerate both of Gods Maiesty,
he Churches honour, and his owne Vile-
esse; both knowing what things God allows
him

him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy for himſelfe, and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, or paſſionatly; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with well died and premeditated Sermons, ſo with the publique Formes of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily & common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which as *I* doe not wholly exclude from publique occaſions, ſo *I* allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, doe require ſo great exactneſſe as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of nnderſtanding, and the fervency of affection, *I* hold the maine and moſt neceſſary requiſites both of conſtant, and occaſionall, ſolitary, and ſocial Devotions.

So that *I* muſt needs ſeem to all equall men with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of My own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as *I* do the Liturgy before their Directory

in the one, I have been alwaies educated & ...ciſed; In the other, I am not yet Cate...ized, nor acquainted; And if I were, yet ...uld I not by that, as by any certain rule and ...on of devotion, be able to follow or find ... the indirect extravagances of moſt of ...ſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece ... rare compoſure and uſe; which is already ... much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of ...m, as the common-Prayer ſometimes was ... thoſe men; a great part of whoſe pietie ... upon that popular pin of raylingagainſt, ... contemning the Government, and Litur... of this Church. But, I had rather be con...mned to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by ſeeming to pray what ... do not approve.

It may be, I am eſteemed by My Denyers ...fficient of my ſelfe to diſcharge My duty to ...od as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a ...Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and *Sa...rdotall*, might well become the ſame Per...on; as anciently they were under one name, & ...he united rights of primogeniture; Nor could ... follow better preſidents, if I were able, than ...oſe two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solo...on*; not more famous for their Scepters and ...Crownes, than one was for devout Pſalmes ...and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables

and

and Preaching: whence the one merited ... assumed the name of a Prophet, the other ... a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater hono... where rightly placed, than any of thos... Roman Emperours affected from the Nat... they subdued: it being infinitely more glo... ous to convert Soules to Gods Church by ... Word, than to conquer men to a subiection ... the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome ... providence hath, for the most part alwa... distinguished the guifts and offices of Kings ... Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in t... Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorr... to find my selfe reduced to the necessity of ... ing both or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of King... Power and Soveraignty; would no lesse ... force me to live many *Moneths* without ... Prayers, Sacraments and Sermons, unless ... become my owne Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of ... Christian KING, so *I* desire to enjoy fro... them the benefit of their gists and prayers ... which I look upon as more prevalent th... my owne, or other mens; by how much th... flow from minds more enlightned, and a... ctions lesse distracted, than those, which ... encombred with secular affaires, besides, ... think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse ... tend...

ds thoſe duties which are rightly performed
proper to, and within the lymits of that
ing, to which God and the Church have
cially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men:
however as to that Spirituall Govern-
nt, by which the devout Soule is ſubject to
ſt, and through his merits daily offers it
and its ſervices to GOD, every private be-
ver is a King and Preiſt, inveſted with the
our of a Royall Preiſthood; yet as to eccle-
ical all order, and the outward polity of the
urch, I think confuſion in Religion will as
ainly follow every mans turning Preiſt or
acher, as it wil in the State, where every one
cts to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modeſt and I
ke more pious Principles: the conſcious-
ſe to my ſpirituall defects makes me more
ue and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which
y and good Miniſtes, either Biſhops or
esbyters, may afford me; eſpecially in theſe
remities, to which God hath been pleaſed
ffer ſome of my Subjects to reduce me,
s to leave them nothing more, but my life
take from me: and to leave me nothing to
re, which I thought might leſſe provoke
r jealouſie and offence to deny me, than
of having ſome meanes afforded me for
ſoules comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no

way (that *I* know) scandalous, so every [illegible] eminent for their learning and piety, no [illegible] than for their Loyalty: nor can *I* imagine [illegible] exceptions to be made against them, but [illegible] this, that they may seem too able and too [illegible] affected toward me and My service.

But this is not the first service (as *I* count [illegible] the best) in which they have forced Me [illegible] serve My selfe; though *I* must confesse *I* be[illegible] with more grief & impatience the want of [illegible] Chaplaines, than of any other my Servants [illegible] and next (if not beyond in some things) to [illegible] being sequestred from my Wife and Children [illegible] since from these indeed more of humane [illegible] temporary affections, but from those more [illegible] heavenly and eternall improvements may [illegible] expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced [illegible] neglected] want of ordinary meanes God [illegible] wont to afford extraordinary supplyes of [illegible] gifts and Graces,

If his Spirit will teach Me and help my in[illegible] mitter in prayer, reading and meditation [illegible] hope he wil] *I* shall need no other, either O[illegible] tour or instructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I dir[illegible] My now Solitary Prayers; what I want of [illegible] thers help, supply with the more immedi[illegible] assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can be[illegible]

enlight[illegible]

ighten *My* darkneſſe, and quicken *My* dul-
ſ.

Thou Sun of righteouſnes, thou ſacred Foun-
n of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare
warme my heart, both by inſtructing of me
interceding for me; *In* thee is all fulneſſe;
m thee all ſufficiency; By thee is all accep-
ce. Thou art company enough, and comfort
ugh; Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet
my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me,
me; and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob prevailed with
e, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to
nd him but thy ſelfe; who didſt aſsiſt him
h power to overcome thee, and by a welcome
lence to wreſt a bleſsing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy,
m thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and
iated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency
ght inflame the coldneſſe of my affections to-
rds thee; when we went to meet in thy
uſe with the voice of joy and gladneſſe, wor-
ping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with
bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of
ſe happy opportunities.

is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pe-
an in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the
ſe top, & as a coal ſcattered from all thoſe pi-
glowings & devout reflections, which might
beſt

beſt kindle, preſerve, and encreaſe the holy fi
of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, where
the ſacrifice of prayes, and incenſe of praiſes
might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed re
nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpi
the weaknes of my prayers, nor the ſmotherin
of my ſoule in this uncomfortable loneneſſe
which I am conſtrained by ſome mens unchri
table denialls of thoſe helps, which I much wa
and no leſſe deſire.

O let the hardneſſe of their hearts occaſion th
ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let
their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſo
able denials of my religious deſires the more ex
cite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable
deafneſſe incline thine ear to me; Who art a Go
eaſie to be intreated; thine ear is not heavy th
it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will no
hear, nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot hel
me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe
outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy
Church, but they cannot debarre me from the
communion of that inward grace, which thou
alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me, thou
wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broke
and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe
Thou, O Lord canſt at once make me thy temp
thy

Priest, thy Sacrifice, & thine Altar; while an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up holy meditations, fervent prayers, & unfeigned teares my selfe to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceppteſt of me.

Thou O Lord didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meale in the veſſell ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyle in the cruiſe faile the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow, is now deſolate & forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving truths which I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of my ſoule.

Which yet I had rather chuſe than to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, & my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to My deſtruction, which are cleare for their ſubjection, and my ſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God. O let not thoſe mens balmes break my head, nor

their Cordialls oppresse my heart, I will ever more pray against their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and sword of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve the sadnesse and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

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25. Penitentiall Meditations and vowes in the *Kings* solitude at *Holmeby*.

Give eare to my words O Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my hast I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extream to mark what is don amisse, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared, therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency

my place adding weight to my offence:.
Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, and
Peoples sinnes; which are so farre mine, as
ave not improved the power thou gavest me,
hy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast
brought me from the glory and freedom of
King, to be a Prisoner to my owne Subjects:
stly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, be-
se in many things I have rebelled against the.
Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet
large my heart to thee, and thy grace towards
le.
I come far short of Davids piety; yet since I
y equall Davids afflictions, give me also the
nforts and the sure mercies of David.
Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an
idence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.
Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms
ve suffered seem little unto thee; though thou
t not punished us according to our sins.
Turne thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy
n me, for I am desolate and afflicted.
The sorrowes of my heart are enlarged; O
ing thou me out of my troubles.
Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut
thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?
O remember thy compassions of old, and thy
oving kindnesses, which have bin for many ge-
rations.
I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleeved to

see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sinnes of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryall consume the drosse, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still; Let it I beseech thee be against me, and my Fathers house; as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me a heart to pray unto thee; so heare and accept this Vow which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and my Kingdomes; In continuing the light of thy Gospell, and setting thy true Religion among us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessors.

If thou wilt turne the hearts of my people to thy selfe in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill Warres.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience: and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, & my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own

as the rightfull succession, so the merciſull restauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, safety and honour, to My chiefeſt City and my Parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Juſtice into My hand to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the World to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charity, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Chriſt's ſake thoſe that have offended me in any kind; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man to revenge what is paſt, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually puniſhed in our unnaturall diviſions for thy ſake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer have I purpoſed this in my heart, That I will uſe all meanes in the waies of amneſty, and indempnitie; Which may moſt fullie remove all feares, and burie all jealouſies in forgetfullneſſe.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my people.

Heare my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out of faigned lips.

Bleſſed be God, Who hath not turned away my

prayer

prayer, nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soule commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my people and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surprisall of the* King *at* Holmby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous, some little practise will serve that man, who only seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but He is considerable, adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This motion, like others of the Times, seem excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim downe such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevaile against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible it is for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill omen; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, which intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their owne Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Pres-

resbyterian rigour, who, sometimes com-
laining of exacting their conformity to lawes
e become the greatest Exactors of other
ens submission to their novell injunctions, be-
re they are stamped with the Authority of
awes, which they cannot well have without
y consent.

Tis a great argument, that the Independents
ink themselves manumitted from their Ri-
lls service, in that they carry on a businesse of
ch consequence, as the assuming My Person
to the Armies custody, without any Commis-
on, but that of their owne will and power.
uch as will thus adventure on a KING,
ust not be thought over-modest, or time-
ous to carry on any designe they have a
ind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both
he two Houses and the City: which soone af-
er acting over againe that former part of tu-
ultuary motions, (never questioned, punished,
r repented) must now suffer for both; and see
heir former sinne in the glasse of the present
rrours and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the
and of divine justice; they that by tumults
irst occasioned the raising of Armies, must now
e chastened by their owne Army for new Tu-
mults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin,

but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the former; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice? the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as My selfe was forced to do) from the rudenesse of the Tumults, were counted Desertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complaine highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Army: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary insolencies, and Betrayers of the freedome and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages than their Conscience,, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good,

the

the Authours and Abbettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies, when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their owne crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity, for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despaire of their Loyalty to Me, which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storme be yet wholly passed over them, upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and teares, with compassionate griefe, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered

gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming inſolent Enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gaine a faire period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, than in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publique conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done when wee ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the knowne Lawes, than to the various wils of any men, ſeeme they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſt

interests, demanding pay and Indemnity) *I* think it necessary, in order to the publike peace that they should be satisfied, as farre as is just: no man being more prone to consider them than my selfe: though they have fought against me, yet I cannot but so farre esteeme that valour & galantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintaine my Selfe, my Lawes, and my Kingdoms, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion, as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the strivings of my People & make me to see how much thy need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against me, & yet are now ready to fight against one another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms distractions.

Discover to all sides the waies of peace from which they have swarved: which consists not in the divided Wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Lawes.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make

Make me ever such as thou wouldst have me that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquility which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security & their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, that they cannot want enemies who abound in sinn, nor shall they be long undisarmed and un-destroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the cleare convictions of their owne consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, [chiefly at first by them] as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer

deemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; & in my dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But thou O Lord, canst and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy then of mans cruelty, or thy own Justice.

27. To

27. To the Prince of Wales,

SOn, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my Conscience; & my most impartiall thoughts touching the chiefe passages, which have beene most remarkabl, or disputed in my late troubles come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so farre usefull to you, as to state your judgememnt aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced somthing worthy of my selfe, and usefull to you; That neither you nor any other, may hereafter measure My Cause by the Successe, nor my Judgement of things, by my misfortunes, which I count the greater by farre, because they have so farre lighted upon you, and some others whom I have cause to love as well as my selfe, and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense then of mine own.

But this advantage of wisedome you have above most Princes, that you have begun, and

and now spent some yeares of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees set in winter) then in the warmth, and serenity of times, or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and honour, or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the publique good, for which Princes should alwayes remember they are borne, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom, the other softned by the unparalel'd prosperity of *Solomons* Court, and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as inseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies, are from fruit in summer: whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great, I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, and

Gifts

gifts bestowed upon you, which may be to weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gaine the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign disposer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth downe one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Soveraignty you can attain to, is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit, may rule in your heart,

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civill Power, with Justice and Honour to the publik peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his owne soule at last.

To which Center of true Happinesse God, in trust, hath and will graciously direct all those black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath [I hope] drawn me nearer to himselfe. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have

have liberally drank, which I looke upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfullneſſe which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; well grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which, I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgment and Reaſon now ſeale to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judicioufly your owne Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or tradition, which you profeſſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as coming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be not more neceſſary for your ſoules then your Kingdomes peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angell of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights; When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of *Religion*; when Piety pleades for peace and patience, they cry out *Zeal*.

So

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion, for that ſeemes even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſigns.

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous, hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſetled: your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others, who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmnes & charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences, by impartiality, or ſo order affaires in point of Power that you ſhal not need to fear or flatter any faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may

never

never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity, than from those who engage into regions Rebellion; Their interest is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety ambitious policies march, not only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Jacob's* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeares; so compliant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements; but as soone as discontents drave men into sidings (as ill humors fall to the disaffected part, which cause inflamations) so did all, at first who affected any novelties adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious servants to Presbytery their great Master: till time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to partakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits or preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concerne Religion and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectuall suppressing Errours & Schismes, which seem at first but as a handbreth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soule and his Church in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civill Justice, wherein the setled Lawes of these Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the most excellent rules you can governe by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who owne, his People as Subiects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Lawes to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crowne, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts can

not

not returne any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety, to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine,

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed, and exerciſed in remitting, rather an exacting the rigor of the Lawes; there being nothing worſe then legall Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and *Lawes*, I may (without vanity) turne the reproach of my ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the teſtimony of my own conſcience; The Troubles of My Kingdomes having nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That *I* preferre Religion and Lawes eſtabliſhed before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed *I* doe, and ever ſhall till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have bin chiefly uſed towards me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learne that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to grant any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publique Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God will deale with me, as to the removall of theſe preſures, & indignities, which his juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of my Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon

Me

Me, I cannot tell; nor am *I* much solicitous what wrong *I* suffer from men, while *I* retain in *My* Soule, what *I* beleive is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Satisfaction, that in Reason, Honour and Conscience I can; reserving only what *I* cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to my own soule, the Church and My People, and to You also, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall all in his due time after my decease bring you, as I hope he will; My counsell and charge to you is, That You seriously consider the former reall or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affaires of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in your selfe, or others, a diffidence of your own judgment, which is likely to be alwayes more constant & impartial to the interest of your crown and Kingdom than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Faction by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions, employed by you, grounded only upon the difference

ferences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies: and puts the despised and oppressed Party, into such combinations, as may most enable them to act a full revenge on those they count their persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an violent opposition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up solid piety, and those fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and grace.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of

the beſt, and the moſt too: who though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer waies of virtue at any time ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformity to the Lawes eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is all thoſe that adhered to the Lawes, and to Me) and are ſecured from that feare, but they are divided to ſo high a rivarly, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other, than againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſſipate all factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious deſignes, ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not leſſe cruell, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appeare no better than a Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Traine of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; My charge and counſell to you, is That as yoe need no palliations for any deſignes, (as other men) ſo that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtra-

tion

ions of goodneſſe, piety, and vertue, towards
he People, even all thoſe men, that make the
reateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo
ou ſhall neither feare any detection, (as they
e, who have but the face and mask of good-
eſſe) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expecta-
ions of your people; who cannot in Reaſon
romiſe themſelves ſo much good from any
ubjects novelties, as from the vertuous con-
ancy of their King.

When theſe mountaines of congealed fa-
ions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy,
nd the ſplendor of your virtues be thawed
nd diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall
ave learned, that none are greater Op-
reſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and
onſciences, than thoſe men, that entitle
hemſelves, The Patrons and vindicators
f them, onely to uſurp power over them:
et then no paſſion betray you, to any ſtu-
y of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe owne ſinne
nd folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due
ime.

But as ſoone as the forked arrow of factious
mulations is drawne out, uſe all princely arts,
nd clemency to heale the wounds; that the
mart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of
he hurt.

I have offered Acts of *Indempnity*, and
Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may in-

clude all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have you alwaies propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policy and neceſſity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it: and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, than thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their owne Soules moſt vehement motives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality ſets you beyond any Duell with any Subject, ſo the nobleneſſe of Your mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating

any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to your owne merits, upon your People, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscariages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards you, both which, I hope you will study to deserve, for, We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Lawes have assigned to Us, and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sinne can devest Us of, then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, your owne honour, and the Kingdomes peace.

But if you never see my face againe, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me, I doe require and, intreat you as your Father, and your KING

that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell you *I* have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world, not onely in the Communion, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed, keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or poliſhing, which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand: but ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportion of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your owne thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath beene a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late Warre againſt the Church, the Lawes, and me, either was, or is a true Lover,

Embraces,

Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rule, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeale abate your value and eſteem of true piety, both of them are to be knowne by their fruits, the ſweetneſſe of the Wine & Figtree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thornes ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertaine any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments, which in their right conſtitution with Freedome and honour, will never injure or diminiſh your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince and his people.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have beene other than ſuch [however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections] if it had beene preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that freedome, and Honour,

which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than a faire, grave, and Honourable waies to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publique consent; without Tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsome food:

And if neither I, nor you, be ever restored to Our Rights, but God in his severest justice will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sinne, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crowne, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious tearms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, You shall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of your honour will consist in your deferring all respect, love, and protection to your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having beene a means to

blesse

bleſſe Me with ſo many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother; I recommend to your love, and care) Shee hath beene content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and you.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (what ever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My owne Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make you an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by your wiſdome, juſtice, piety, and valour, of what, the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience or lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven: ſo I beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deſerted Me, or engaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their

first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so I believe you will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In summe, what good I intended, doe you performe; when God shall give you power much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soone vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace, This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since my Restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects [by their miseries] will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I

I pray God blesse you & establish your Kingdomes in righteousnesse, your Soule in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction; let my memory ever, with my name, live in you; as of your Father, that loves you, and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the *Sceptre* and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of my Crowne, the priviledge of Parliaments, the Liberties of my People, and my owne Conscience, which, I thank *GOD*, is dearer to me than a thousand Kingdomes.

I know *God* can, I hope he yet will restore me to my Rights. I cannot despaire either of his mercy, or of my peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which *God* hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till We meet if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-addresses, and His Majesties *closer Imprisonment in* Carisbrook-castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death: for I know, there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence which gives me the space, but Mans cruelty that gives Me the last occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me, as a Man; I now beare the heavy load of other mens ambitions, feares, jealousies, and cruell passions, whose envy or enmity against Me, makes their owne lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my prosperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertaine: Death being an eclipse, which

which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in Me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the speciall horrour of it, is to My particular much allayed: for, although My death at present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysonous, though sharpe; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the antidote of his Death against them; which as to the immaturity, unjustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can feare.

Indeed, I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer contacts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to dye, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make me sometime even desire to dye; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory

glory of Christians life to *die dayly*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kills us (as it were) by piecemeales, and make us overlive our owne fate; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soule! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in

a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to dye out of weariness of life, and a want of that heroick greatness of Spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shaddowes necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessned or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lyon, but they yeild much sweetness to those, that dare encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my owne Subjects, a violent, sodain, barbarous death; in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms; my Freinds and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators; my Enemyes insolent Revilers and Triumphers over me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope other-

otherwiſe, as to mans cruelty; however, I deſpaire not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my life is the object of the Devills & wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody & diſpoſall: VVhom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him & to ſubmit to his will both in life & death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for me to contend with thoſe many horrours of death, wherewith God ſuffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſinnation; or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruell) will, it may be, ſeeke to adde (as thoſe did who Crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Iuſtice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſſe pity; it will be but a neceſſary policy to make my death appeare as an act of Iuſtice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne who know that no Law of God or Man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without Me, much eſſe againſt Me: and who, being ſworne, and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their periury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his

his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is assisted by the insolence of Subjects against their Soveraigne; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, must by shedding my bloud seem to wash their owne hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and Man; and *I* beleive in their own Consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable Demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane spirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Vsurpation*: notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents applyed only to disguize at first the monstrousnes of their designes, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyeard, till the heire, who e ght it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, My greatest fault must be, that would not either destroy My selfe with the hurch and State by my VVord, or not suffer em to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose vetous ambition no Concession of Mine ould ever yet either satisfy, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever thinke, that ingdome of brambles, which some men seeke

to

to erect (at once, weak, sharpe, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive til watered with the Royall bloud of those, whose right the Kingdome is,

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my protectour, and my Advocate who is my onely Judge, whom I owne as King of Kings, not only for the eminency of his power and *Majesty* above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrones of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either *Men* or Devills; which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my death amongst themselves: the injuryes I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing me,

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my bloud, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to me

me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince my troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded my cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed whoſe confederacy in ſinne was their only ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up Death in the Victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not only the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake [though obſcurd by the foulеſt charges of Tyranny and *Injuſtice*) but alſo, that charity, wch is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over my *Deſtroyers*: By which, *I* thank God, *I* can both forgive them and pray for them, that God would not impute my bloud to them, further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſoules from the guilt of ſhedding mine.

At preſent, the will of my Enemies ſeemes to be their only rule, their power the meaſure, and their Succeſſe the Exactor, of what they pleaſe to call *Juſtice*, while they flatter themſelves with the fancie of their own ſafety by my daunger, and the ſecurity of their lives deſignes,

signes by my Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sinne are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to My death are embrued with my bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more than I am content to lose when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy I believe, will more then infinetly recompence what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre surpasse all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envyed Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men.

for

for the ſubſtance of that heavenly kingdome with himſelfe,

For the cenſures of the world; I know the harp and neceſſary tyranny of my *Deſtroyers* will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subiects, who do not only pity and pray for me, but would be content even to dy with me, or for me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my failings, as a man, and yet to retaine and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious neceſsity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath beene made to the publike; the enioyment of which private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, *I* beleive, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, do already feel harp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evill dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them who cannot hope long to enioy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails bin ſo cruell as to cut off their cheifeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſti-

obſtinat may be like that of *Korah* & his complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince & Preiſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdaine of their ill-gotten and worſe uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſigns againſt me, the Church and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not feare to appear, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſeleſſe Enemies, where I doubt not but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed word [the only cleare, ſafe and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences] in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſs of my Conſcience before God and toward my people wil carry me, as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion:

who

who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the designe. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sayles of Pyrats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content & quiet of Soule, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Lawes of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments; the rights of my Crowne, the just liberty of my Subiects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended,

The prayers and patience of my Freinds and loving Subiects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerefully take, and drink from *Gods* hand (if it must be so) than they can give it me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemyes, than my Freinds; while those will put a period to the sinnes and sorrows attending this miserable life; wherewith

with these desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquetour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for sinne to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my own sinne, as from God, and the effect of other sinnes, as men, both against God and me; yet as I hope my own sinnes are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill managed victoryes over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtain: that my temporall death unjustly inflicted by them may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I

look

look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing the ship to shore, when they have cast me over-board; though it be very strange, that Marriners can find no other means to appease the storme, themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soule with my body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despaire, they have only discover'd this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obstructed my accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Afflicter of sinne upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us from it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves and live in thee; than by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of [illegible] death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in My Soule, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with Me, I shall neither feare nor feel any evill, though I walk through the valey of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to [illegible] with Me, as a Man; make Me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest Me, yet thou hast incouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designes of those who have, or shal conspire my destruction.

O shew me thy goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that
this cup may paſs from me; but thou haſt taught
me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to
ſubmit, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholy reſol-
ving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life
in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering
thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errors
of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the
errours of my death.

Make me content to leave the World nothing,
that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who
haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gaine; and in
death, advantage.

Though my deſtroyers forget their duty to thee
and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be
mercifull to them.

Rather, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their
gaining my Kingdomes, if they loſe their owne
Soules?

Such as have not only reſiſted my juſt Power,
but wholy uſurped & turned it againſt my ſelf,
though they may deſerve, yet let them not re-
ceive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Son a Saviour to many that
crucified Him, whilſt once he ſuffered vio-
lently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My
Murtherers,

murtherers, lender than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due conviction of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damme their own Soules by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me; while their conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so many cruell, who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirsty & deceitful men, but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for My blood, O sprinkle their polluted yet penitent Souls with the blood of thy Sonne, that thy destroying Angell may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinit mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall love farre above those ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt

upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy
favor and eternall mercies.
That what is cut off of my life in this misera-
ble moment: may be repaied in thy ever blessed
eternity.
Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my
eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.